

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2012 with funding from
National Library of Scotland

National Library of Scotland



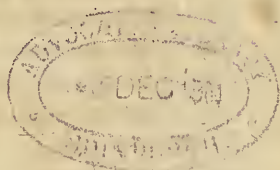
B000258185

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
HOUSE AND RACE

OF
D O U G L A S

Longman
AND

ANGUS.



By DAVID HUME, Esq.

If the actions of any family are worthy of record, those of the family
of Douglas are in a particular manner.

London:

PRINTED FOR MORTIMER AND M'LEOD, ABERDEEN.

1820.

HISTORY

OF THE

HOUSE AND RACE

D O U G L A S

AND

BY FRANKLIN PIERCE

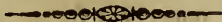
It is the opinion of the author that the history of the race is the history of the nation.

1852

NEW YORK: PUBLISHED BY J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO.

THE

PUBLISHER TO THE READER.



I HERE offer to the world a new Edition of the History, of the illustrious Houses of DOUGLAS and ANGUS, wrote by the learned Mr. David Hume of Godscroft: a history, if recommendable by the abilities of the Author, yet more so by the subject on which it treats: and surely if the actions of any family are worthy of record, those of the family of Douglas are in a particular manner: for what family can boast of such a series of great commanders, so many zealous asserters of the liberty and independence of their native country, and so eminently distinguished by their great actions through all Europe; witness the reputation they acquired in Italy and Spain, and the titles and preferments deservedly bestowed on them in France and Prussia; in which last the privileges we still enjoy in the city of Dantzic, as they are a lasting monument of their bravery, so they redound no less to the glory of the Scottish nation in general.

It is indeed to be regretted, either that the Author did not live a century later, or that a pen equal to the task has not undertaken a continuation of the history down to our times; there are still a variety of great actions performed by persons of the name of Douglas, worthy of transmitting to posterity, which show the race have not degenerated, but are still worthy of the noble stock from which they sprung; I shall only give an instance of one, which I take from Mr. Burchett in his Naval Tracts, p. 400. - 'In the beginning of the year 1677, a treaty of peace between England and Holland was

‘ set on foot by the mediation of Sweden; in confidence of
‘ the success whereof, the King forbearing to set out a fleet,
‘ whilst his ministers were negociating at Breda, the Dutch,
‘ with seventy sail of ships, under De Ruyter, appear-
‘ ed in the Thames mouth, and sending in a squadron, pos-
‘ sessed themselves of the fort at Sheerness, though bravely
‘ defended by Sir Edward Spragge. The Duke of Alber-
‘ marle, who was Lord General, with all expedition hastened
‘ down thither with some land forces, and, to oppose the
‘ enemy’s progress, sunk some vessels in the entrance of the
‘ Medway, and laid a strong chain across it: but the Dutch,
‘ with a high tide, and a strong easterly wind, broke their way
‘ through, and burnt the three ships which lay to defend the
‘ chain, and going up as far as Upnore castle, burnt also the
‘ Royal Oak, and having much damaged the Loyal London,
‘ and the Great James, fell down the river again carrying off
‘ with them the hull of the Royal Charles, which the English
‘ had twice fired, to prevent that dishonour, but the enemy
‘ as often quenched again. In this action one Captain Dou-
‘ glass, who was ordered to defend one of those ships which
‘ were burnt, when the enemy had set fire to it, receiving no
‘ commands to retire, said, “ It should never be told that a
‘ “ Douglas quitted his post without order,” and resolutely
‘ continued aboard, and burnt with the ship, falling a glori-
‘ ous sacrifice to discipline and obedience to command; and an
‘ example of so uncommon a bravery as, had it happened among
‘ the ancient Greeks or Romans, had been transmitted down
‘ to immortality with the illustrious names of Codrus, Cynæ-
‘ gyus, Curtius, and the Decii.’

Some casuists may be of opinion, that a bravery carried to such an excess exceeds the bounds of Christianity; but whatever be in that, there is something so glorious and noble in it, that few will dare to condemn it: and the worst construction it is capable of, is, that the galant gentlemen was intoxicated a little too much with the glory of his name, and the love of his country, faults that are very rare in this degenerate age.

It remains now that we should say something of the Author, of whom it is only necessary here to take notice, that he was a person of a genius equal to his undertaking; that he had great opportunities, being permitted to see the charters and archives of the family; and that, as he was a man of learning and sagacity, he has made the best use of these advantages: he has also been well versed in the history of Scotland, on which he makes a great many just and judicious remarks; and really if the Author has any fault, it is in the number and prolixity of his reflections; but that ought not so much to be imputed to him, as to the humour of the times in which he wrote; and even these are made in such a manly way, so full of strong substantial sense, and so mixed with ancient Scottish phrases and proverbs, that as they are generally solid and instructive, so they will be to many no less entertaining.

It is indeed a loss to the public that the Author did not live to revise his work from the press; and the Editor of the first Edition, who has been a man nowise qualified for that business, has committed innumerable mistakes, chiefly by his endeavouring, in many places, to turn the Scottish phrases of our author, which he very ill understood, into the English of the times wherein he lived. He has likewise been very negligent in the spelling of the proper names of persons and places, many of which, if it had not been for the Author's original manuscript, frequently, I confess, not very legible, and the assistance of other historians, I should never have been able to have rectified. I have also taken upon me to alter some old obsolete expressions; but in this I have acted very sparingly.

L. HUNTER, PUBLISHER.

Edinburgh, 1743.

P R E F A C E.

Of the DOUGLASES in general; that is, 1. Of their Antiquity, to which is joined their Original; 2. Nobility and Descent; 3. Greatness; and 4. Valour of the Family and Name of DOUGLAS.

I THINK it will not be amiss to place here before the door, as it were, and entry into this discourse and treatise, (like a sign or ivy-bush before an inn) an old verse, which is common in men's mouths:

So many, so good, as of the Douglasses have been,
Of one sirname were ne'er in Scotland seen.

This saying being ancient, and generally received, will serve to invite the curious and candid reader, and, like a charm, will fright away malignant spirits and detractors, who labour to lessen and extenuate what they cannot deny. Neither is this a public fame only rovingly scattered, and soon vanishing, but such as hath continued from age to age, and which is authorized and confirmed by all writers, and which is most of all true in itself, as shall appear by this discourse, and nothing immodest or immoderate. For if we consider these two together jointly, 'so many and so good,' that is their number and their worth, we shall find none that can match them in either of these. There may be found of other names some as good, but not so many. And again though there be as many, yet they are not so good. This truth I have not heard impugned, but it hath hitherto been embraced without all contradiction, even of calumny itself, I know not if without envy. But let that monster eat her own heart, and tear

her own bowels; and that she may do so yet more, we will give her further occasion to do it, by enlarging the comparison thus: 'so many, so good, &c. of subjects race, were never in Europe seen;' and yet further, 'in the world were never seen.' This is not any rhetorical amplification, or poetical hyperbole, but a positive and measured truth. If any, after he hath read and pondered their actions, and paralleled them with those whose names any history hath transmitted to the knowledge of posterity: if any man, I say, shall find, after due search and equal judgement, either in this our country, or in this our island of Britain, or in this fourth part of the world, Europe; or throughout the whole universe, such valour to have continued in any one house or name, that were subjects, and not kings or princes, and to have been so hereditary to all of them, and, as if it had been entailed, descending by succession from father to son, and from brother to brother, the successor still striving to outdo his predecessor, in that height of excellency, and for so many generations; then let this saying be suspected as partial, or branded as an untruth; otherwise be contented to bear witness to the truth, or at least give others leave to do it; and receive thou it as such, without murmuring or impatience. Now as they have surpassed all other names, so if we compare them among themselves, it will prove a hard and difficult judgement to determine who deserves the prize, and hath been most excellent. There hath been twenty persons and more, who have possessed the chief houses and principal families of Douglas and Angus, from William, to go no higher, who died in Berwick a prisoner, besides those worthy branches, the Lord of Nithisdale, Liddisdale, Galloway, Ormond, Murray, Balveny, Dalkieth, &c. there is none almost whose life and the times afforded occasion of action, but hath made himself singularly conspicuous by some notable exploit or other, as is to be seen in their several lives. For the present we will only take a general view of them in gross, according to these heads; 1. Antiquity, which includes their original; 2. Nobility; 3. Greatness; 4. Valour. And, first, we will consider them without any comparison in themselves simply and ab-

solutely; then we will compare them with others, both within and without the country; and so I hope the truth of our assertion shall appear clear and evident unto the eyes of all those that will not obstinately shut their eyes against so bright shining a light.

To begin then with their antiquity and original, so far as we can learn and find either in history or monument, by document or tradition, which we will set down here in order of time, as we have gathered and collected them. 1. We have that tradition which is most ancient of all others, in the days of Solvathius King of Scotland, in the year 767, when Donald Bane usurped the title of King, and had in a battle almost defeated the King's army, a certain nobleman, called afterward Sholto Douglas, came into their succour, and overthrew the said Donald, whom he slew in the field, and scattered his army, as is set down at length in his life. 2. The second witness of their antiquity and original is brought from beyond sea, out of Italy, in the family of the Scoti of Plaisance, which is proved to have sprung from the Douglasses at large in the life of William IV. The time is in the days of Charlemaign, in the year 779, or, as our writers, 800 or 801, in the reign of Achaius King of Scotland. 3. Our third witness is a public monument out of a monastery, (which were the registers of those times) the monastery of Icolmkill, which tell that Malcolm Kenmore, at the parliament of Forfar, in the year 1057, or 1061, did not advance to that dignity, for they had the equivalent of it before, but adorned with the new stile of Lord, some of the name of Douglas; which stile was then first brought into this country, by imitation of other nations. 4. Our fourth witness is in the year 1133, the foundation of the abbey of Leshmahago confirmed by King David, wherein it is expressly bounded by the barony of Douglasdale: now seeing this is but a confirmation, the donation must have gone before in some other King's days. 5. The fifth witness is in the days of King William, nephew to this David, who began his reign in the year 1163. He erected the town of Ayr into a free burgh royal, and, amongst the wit-

nesses of their charter are Alexander and William Douglasses. 6. The sixth is a mortmain and donation granted to the bishop of Murray, where the same names are inserted (William and Alexander Douglasses) for witnesses. It is not certain whether these be the same that were witnesses in the former charter of Ayr, but it is likeliest they were the same. In what year of King William's reign this was, we have not yet learned; but he reigned till the year 1214. 7. The seventh is, the indenture made between William Lord Douglas, and Hugh Lord Abernethy, in the days of Alexander III. 1259, some forty-five years after this last King William; the particulars of this indenture are set down in the life of the said William. 8. Eightly, we have also, though much later, in the days of King Robert Bruce, and good Sir James Douglas, mention made of two Douglasses, besides Sir James, one James Douglas of Lowdon, and Andrew Douglas of the public rolls, (three rolls marked 1. 16.) King Robert gives to James of Lowdon a confirmation of the lands of Caldercleer, Kinnaul, and Carnwath: to Andrew Douglas he gives Corsewell, which was fallen into his hands by the forfeiture of the Earl of Winton or Wigton. Now what these two were, and whether or not they were in kin to the Lords of Douglas we know not; only I have heard it reported that the lands of Lowdon were gotten from the Lords of Douglas; and Caldercleer is known to have been given off from their estate. Now howbeit these two be not very ancient, yet it may be gathered that the name of Douglas was ancient, even then being propagated into so many branches, which could not have been done of a sudden, but in process of time: These things do confute those authors, who reckon the original of the Douglasses from good Sir James, or at the most from his father William; because our writers, Major, Boethius, and Buchanan name none before them. But they, intending and minding more the general history of the country, than the descent or beginning of particular houses, may perhaps be excused herein; yet it doth not follow that there were none before, because they have past them in silence. And so much shall

suffice to have spoken of their antiquity and original, as far as we know; I say expressly as far as we know: for certainly we do not know them fully. We do not know them in the fountain, but in the stream; not in the root, but in the stock and stem; for we know not who was the first mean man that did by his virtue raise himself above the vulgar to such eminent place and state, as our Sholto behoved to have been of before he wan the battle, and got the name of Douglas, which hath drowned his former name; for none but some great man, of great friendship and dependance, could have been able to have overcome this Donald Bane, (being already victor) and changed the fortune of the day: and William indeed was created a Lord at Forfar, but we hear not that he was raised from a mean estate, or enriched by the King's liberality; wherefore we may justly think he had the same place in effect before, but under some other name, as of Thane, Abthane, or some such title.

The next point we propound to speak of, is their nobility. There is great contest among men who should be most noble; but where will true nobility be found so entire? In what subject's race is it so full and perfect, according to all the acceptations and significations thereof? They define it to be a lifting or raising up above the vulgar: and what name, I pray, hath been so elevated, and hath so transcended all other, as this of the Douglasses? They add this condition, that it be for true worth; and hath there been any so worthy? Those that will distinguish it into several kinds, make five sorts of it; 1. nobility of virtue; 2. of degrees; 3. of offices and employment; 4. of birth and descent; 5. and lastly, of fame and renown.

1. Of all these the first is the ground, without which the rest are never well built, and are but shadows without the substance. *Virtus nobilitat*, virtue doth enoble, is a saying which is no less true than ancient; for it makes him in whom it doth reside truly noble by its own power, beyond all exception. It hath not the dependance on King's or Princes to give or take it away: it is ever the same, whether exalted or

not exalted, regarded or neglected, respected or disrespected. Nay, it doth ever carry along with it such respect and regard, as no baseness of place, of birth, of means or employment, can stain or lessen; making lowness itself to overtop whatsoever is highest in the eyes of the world. It adds honour to whatsoever place, majesty to whatsoever estate, sufficiency to whatsoever means, splendour to whatsoever obscurity; which no contempt of tongues, no detracting speeches, no disesteem of presuming pride, is able to impair or darken. Where honour and virtue do meet, there honour is an external addition and confirmation of the inward testimony in the mind of the virtuous; but where virtue is wanting, outward honours are but false ensigns, lying inscriptions of empty boxes. That this name was virtuously noble, and nobly virtuous, the deduction of their lives will sufficiently show.

2. As for the second, nobility of degrees, of dignities and titles given by Kings and Princes; such as are these of Knights, Barons, Lords, Earls, Dukes, &c. all these they had conferred upon them both at home and in foreign countries. This kind of nobility is in account amongst men; because although oftentimes it proceeds merely from the Prince's favour, upon small or no desert, yet it is supposed to be grounded upon virtue, or that it should always be grounded thereon. Now in the Douglasses it was ever so, for they were never greater than they deserved: and whatever titles of honour they had, were rather thrust upon them, than ambitiously sought and hunted after: nay we read of Grim Archibald, that he rejected and refused the title of Duke.

The third sort is very like and near unto this, if it be not a part of it, consisting in public offices and employments either in peace or war, such as to be wardens of the marches, lieutenants, governors, leaders and conductors of armies: this was almost proper, and in a manner hereditary to the house, in which places also they so behaved themselves, that for their good services done to the King and country, their family and posterity do enjoy at this hour many privileges and immunities granted to them in their charters, such as, 1. Regalities,

and exemptions thereby. 2. The first place and vote in Parliament, council, or meeting, and convention of the states. 3. The leading of the van-guard in the day of battle. 4. And bearing of the crown at riding in parliament.

4. The fourth is nobility of blood and descent. This some do place only in the descent of the right line masculine without interruption, and esteem him most noble, whose extraction proceedeth from most of this kind. Others again will have it to be on both sides; and certainly it seems to stand with reason that both should be regarded, seeing every ground is not fit for noble seed, and every stock will not serve to ingraft a generous imp. However, we shall find the Douglasses noble also in this way, in their descent on both sides, in their affinity and alliance, being come of Kings, and Kings of them. And first of all King Robert Bruce, and William the Hardy, or Long-leg, were of kin by the house of Carrick; for Martha, Countess of Carrick and this William were cousins-german, his mother having been sister to her father the Earl of Carrick, that died in Syria. Now Martha was mother to King Robert, and hereby King Robert and good Sir James were cousins-german once removed. But this was ere Bruce was King, while he was yet but a private man. 2. Secondly therefore, Robert Stewart (the first of the Stewarts that was King, and who was grandchild to Robert Bruce) gave his eldest daughter in marriage to Earl James slain at Otterburn. 3. The same King Robert gave another of his daughters to William, Lord of Nithisdale. 4. The Duke of Rothsay, Prince of Scotland, son to King Robert III. married Marjory daughter to Archibald the Grim. 5. Archibald the third of that name, and first Duke of Touraine, had to wife Margaret Stewart, daughter to the same King Robert III. as the Black Book of Scoon expressly witnesseth, which calls him *Gener Regis*, the King's son-in-law. Ballanden, the translator of Boethius, calls him the King's maich, or ally; and King James II. claimeth Stewarton from James the last Earl of Douglas, in the conditions of peace sent to him. Now Stewarton is known to have been the proper inheritance of John

Stewart, and after him of Walter, then of Robert, the first King of the Stewarts, and so of Robert III. which in all likelihood he hath given with his daughter, as her dowry, to this Archibald. 6. Also John Earl of Buchan, the King's brother's son, married a daughter of this Archibald, whom he hath had apparently by some other wife. 7. Then Alexander, son to the Earl of Buchan, married Isabel Douglas, countess of Mar, daughter to William the first Earl of Douglas. 8. William the first Earl married Margaret Stewart, daughter to Thomas Earl of Angus, who was uncle to King Robert II. and first King of the Stewarts. 9. George Douglas, son to the same William, who was the first Earl of Angus of the name of Douglas, married Mary Stewart, daughter to King Robert III. and sister to King James I. 10. James Douglas, Lord of Dalkeith, married a daughter of King James II. 11. Archibald, brother to William the eighth Earl of Douglas, married the inheretrix of Murray, who was niece to King Robert II. and so became Earl of Murray. 12. Archibald Earl of Angus, the second of that name, married Margaret Queen of Scotland, relict of King James IV. and eldest daughter to King Henry VII. sister to King Henry VIII. of England, and mother to King James V. of Scotland; by her he had Lady Margaret Douglas. 13. Lady Margaret Douglas, his daughter, was married to Matthew Stewart Earl of Lennox, who was also of the blood royal. 14. Henry Stewart Lord Darnly, son to Lennox and Lady Margaret, married Mary Queen of Scotland, only daughter and heir to King James V. She bare to him James VI. of Scotland, and now happily the first King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland. And so much for nobility in blood and alliance.

5. The fifth and last kind of nobility is that of fame and renown. Those that take upon them to derive and deduce the pedigree and etymology of words, do think that this signification is most proper, as being chiefly implied in the word *nobilis, quasi notabilis*; so that those are said to be most noble, who are least obscure, who are most eminent and conspicuous in the eyes of the world, and most praised and blazed

by fame in their own and foreign countries. This kind of nobility hath ever accompanied their virtue, as a shadow follows the body, and that both at home and abroad. And so we have done with their nobility, which is the second point we propounded to be treated of.

The third main head to be considered, is their greatness; concerning which in general our chronicles do witness, that those of the name of Douglas, together with their friends, vassals and dependers, were able to make an army of thirty thousand, or forty thousand men.

This also doth argue their greatness, that it was thought an honour and credit to have dependence on them. Histories do testify that the Hamiltons and Flemings, thought it no disparagement to follow them. Humes were their pensioners and vassals, even the chief houses of them. This is verified by a bond of a thousand nobles (a great sum in those days) made by Archibald Earl of Wigton and Longueville, who was after his father's death Earl of Douglas, to Alexander Hume of Hume, dated at Bothwell, 1423. The same Earl also (for his father was Duke of Touraine) gave the lands of Wedderburn to David Hume, brother to the said Alexander, *propter multiplicia sua servitia*, for his many good services. This charter of Wedderburn is anterior to the gift of Alexander's pension some eight or nine years, being dated in the year 1414. The Lawders of Bass, and Logans of Restalrig, were their messengers into France and other parts, Gray, Salton, Seton, Oliphant were their followers also. Neither could any man of ordinary pitch of power, have brought such aid to a foreign prince, as this same Earl of Wigton transported over into France, five thousand, or as some say, ten thousand, which he levied and carried over at his own proper cost, all brave and choice gentlemen. If for this he was rewarded with the dutchy of Touraine, it was but the just recompence of his service, and no more than he deserved, and would but countervail his charges. Wherefore I wonder with what indifferent judgement Du Serrés, author of the French Inventory, doth grudge at it, and can call it mercenary. Cer-

tainly the Kings of France have thought it their due, or else they would not have continued it so long, for five or six generations, that is, until the Earls of Douglas were forfeited. Few subjects of foreign princes have been so much respected, and so rewarded. It is also an evidence of their power and greatness, that Henry VI. of England did contract and covenant with George the second Earl of Angus, for his aid and assistance against Edward IV. and made an indenture, wherein he promises to give lands erected into a dutchy, lying betwixt Humber and Trent. Edward IV. made James the last Earl of Douglas Knight of the Garter, even when he was banished, so much did he honour and respect his name and virtue. So Henry II. of France made Archibald the second Earl of Angus, one of the order of St. Michael or the Cockle. Their magnificence and stately entertainment, and courage at home and abroad, doth likewise show their greatness. William the fourth of that name, and sixth Earl, being but a very young man, not above fourteen or fifteen years of age, had for his ordinary train a thousand horse; he dubbed knights, had his counsellors and officers of state like a prince: and William the fifth was admired for his train and magnificence, as he passed through Flanders, France, and Italy, in his journey to Rome. Our writers indeed blame him for it, and call it pride, ambition, and ostentation in him: but however that be, it is an evident proof of greatness.

The last and main point that we are to treat of is, their valour. Let their deeds and actions speak for this property: but to take a general view of it; the common epithet in the mouths of the common people hath appropriate unto them this virtue, who never speak of them, but with the addition of doughty, the doughty Douglas. And from hence indeed chiefly their greatness and honours did spring; and we shall find none of them but were both skilful commanders, and stout soldiers, being no less endued with personal valour, than discretion and judgement to direct and conduct. That brave matchless Roman, Scipio Africanus, when he was taxed for not hazarding his person, and fighting with his own hand,

thought it enough to answer, *imperatorem mater me peperit, non bellotorem*, my mother bare me a commander, not a fighter; but our Douglasses were both *maximi imperatores, nec minús strenui bellatores*, wise commanders, and hardy fighters and warriors; they had both good heads and good hearts and hands. In the beginning, ere Rome came to its greatness, it is said of the first captains, *decorum erat tum ipsis ducibus capescere pugnam*, that it was no disparagement, but honourable for the leaders themselves to fight with their own hand; none were more ready and forward to fight than the Douglasses, only Wallace is thought to have gone beyond any of them. But he is but one, and that singular and extraordinary, without any second, at least of his own name; and our comparison stands between name and name, where the number is as well to be remembered as the worth. So many so valorous of one sirname, is that which we have undertaken to prove. Besides, none of the Douglasses did ever encounter with Wallace, to try who was the better man; and if we parallel their actions done apart, what act of Wallace can be produced more admirable than that of Archibald Tineman, at the battle of Shrewsbury, where, with his own hand he slew Blunt, the King of England's standard-bearer, and three more, who were appparelled like Kings, and at last unhorsed the King himself, whom he had also slain, if he had not been rescued by his Son Henry V. In an English manuscript, I have seen it thus expressed.

- ‘ And there with fiery courage he assails
- ‘ Three all, as Kings, adorned in royal ways,
- ‘ And each successive after other quails,
- ‘ Still wond’ring whence so many Kings did rise:
- ‘ Till dubting, lest his hands or eye-sight fails,
- ‘ With these confounded, on the fourth he flies,
- ‘ And him unhorses too, whom had he sped,
- ‘ He then all Kings in him had vanquished.
- ‘ For Henry had divided as it were
- ‘ The person of himself into four parts,
- ‘ To be less known, and yet known every where, &c.

It is written also of William Lord of Nithisdale, that he was both exceeding stout and strong, beyond any that lived in his days; so that whomsoever he struck but once, with mace, sword or spear, he needed never to double his stroke, every blow carried death with it. Also James, slain at Otterburn, his personal valour and strength is very highly extolled by the writers of these times, who besides that he had the better of Percy in their duel at Newcastle, he himself was the chief cause of the victory that got the honour of the day at Otterburn, where he lost himself, but won the field by his own personal valour. They tell how he fought with a huge iron mace, that was heavier than any ordinary man of those days could wield, and more than two or three of such as now live; *Qualia nunc hominum producit corpora tellus*. We might add unto these Archibald Bell-the-cat, (Earl of Angus) who in a duel with Spence cut off his thigh, through bone and all, at a blow; and divers others, as Archibald of Kilspindy, whom King James V. called always his gray steel, for his valour and ability of body. But these shall suffice here for a taste of their valour.

But we will not content ourselves with a general and absolute commendation; we will also descend to the comparative, which we desire may be as far from envy, as we hope it shall be found near to truth. To begin then first at home, there is no subject's race in this country that can match them in these of which we have spoken, antiquity, nobility, greatness, and valour or worth; in these, I say, jointly: that is, there is none so ancient, and withal so noble, great and valorous. No name is, or ever was in this country, of which there can be reckoned so many and so worthy; for so stands our comparison. The Grahams are very ancient, (in the days of Fergus II. anno 424.) and very noble, but have never attained to that degree of greatness as the Douglasses have done. The Hays also are a very old and honourable name, (in the reign of Kenneth III. anno 976.) but not so ancient as our Douglasses by 200 years; for they began in the reign of Solvathius, anno 797. These two, Hays and Douglasses, do a-

gree in this, that they are, as the Grahams also are, natural Scots born: but there is great odds between them otherwise; for the Hays have not reached to that pitch of greatness, either in degree or estimation, and account of men by many stages, as the Douglasses have attained. Other names which now are great, are nothing so ancient, and besides are come from other countries; such as, Hamiltons, Gordons, Campbells: the Campbells from France, and the other two out of England. The Hamiltons came in King Robert Bruce's time, the Gordons in Malcolm Kenmore's. The Murrays are more ancient, and before all these, yet they are strangers, and not of the first blood of the Scots: and there was but one of them great and remarkable, who was governor of Scotland; few or none nobilitated, till of late. But none of all these names comes near that number of nobles and worthies by lineal or lateral descent, and as it were of hereditary virtuous succession and race of men, which we find of the Douglasses. There have been some great and worthy of other names, but if they enter into comparison, they will be found, *rari nantes in gurgite vasto*, but few, one or two eminent of a name, or of the chief house: it will also appear that their honours, most of them, have flowed more from their Prince's favour, than their own great deserving, or great service against the enemy. The Cummings were the most numerous and powerful of any that ever were in Scotland before or since, as some of our writers say; yet their greatness hath rather been in lands and possessions, or friends, than in deeds of arms, and prowess of chevalry, having done little or nothing of note and worthy of renown. John Cumming indeed fought three battles at Roslin in one day against the English, in which we find nothing reported of his personal valour; whereas the Douglasses did ever shew themselves in person to be singularly valorous: besides, he was but one man, the rest are buried in silence: and there is nothing to be found of them all, though all their actions were put together, that deserves to be compared with the deeds of any one man amongst many of the Douglasses. Moreover, as there was no great action

in them, they were scarce good patriots, using their power to the disadvantage of their country, and the opposing of the liberties thereof, in King Robert Bruce's days, rather than for the good and standing of the kingdom, which the Douglasses did ever. We find also that they were not careful to keep their promises, and thought the breach of their words and faith (so it were for their advantage) a point of good wisdom and policy; a foul and base quality, and which is ever incident to mean and base spirits, being directly opposite to true generosity and magnanimity, which is the fountain and well-spring of upright dealing and truth in word and action, which were ever found in our noble Douglasses.

For other countries, to begin with our nearest neighbours of England, the most renowned name for deeds of arms amongst them, is that of the Percies of Northumberland, between whom and the Douglasses there hath ever been ever a noble and generous emulation with various success, but for the most part to the Douglasses advantage; so that we may say, *contendisse decorum* of the Percies: but they come far short of that number of worthies that we have in ours. Besides, the Percies have not been so loyal subjects, having often taken arms against their lawful princes, and being guilty of divers rebellions, plots, conspiracies; according to which Sir Josseline Percy said merrily of the powder treason, that it had not been a right treason, unless a Percy had had a hand in it.

But to go higher, even to the mistress and empress of the world, Rome itself: the Fabii and Cornellii were the most numerous families, and out of these two houses proceeded more commanders, and brave captains, than out of any that I have read, or can remember of amongst them. Now the first mention that we have of them is where they are both named, in the year 267, from the building of Rome, twenty years after the banishing of their King Tarquinius; at which time Quintus Fabius and Servius Cornelius were consuls together: from that time till Quintus Fabius, consul in the year 740, for the space of 437 years, we find of the Fabii about

some twenty-four persons that were consuls, tribunes, decem-viri, dictators, generals, and leaders of armies; but for their valour or prowess, personal courage, or proper worth, the three first are only famous, Quintus Fabius, Marcus Fabius, and Cæso Fabius. These three being brothers, and Marcus Fabius being consul, fought against the Hetrusci in the year 269, and Quintus Fabius being slain, Marcus and Cæso having encouraged the army that was discouraged by the death of their brother Quintus, leaping over the dead corpse of their brother, assaulted the enemy in their own persons, and by their valour and example, staid their men from flying, restored the battle, and at last obtained the victory. We read also of one Ambustus Fabius, whose three sons were sent in an ambassage to the Gauls to request them not to trouble the Clusinii, in the years 363 and 364. These three when they could not prevail, nor persuade them to desist from invading the Clusinii, did join with the Clusinii against the Gauls, in which conflict Quintus Fabius, one of Ambustus's three sons, slew with his own hands, in sight of both armies; the captain of the Gauls, and carried away his spoil: but he quickly stained that honour, he and his two brothers, by their misgovernment at the battle of Allia against the same Gauls, where they fled shamefully without striking a stroke, and by their misguiding gave occasion to the sacking of Rome. The last is Fabius to the dictator, who fought against Hannibal, famous for his conduct, but not so for any personal valour, so the Cornelii, from the same 267 until 734, when Publius Scipio was consul 736, when Lentulus was reckoning both these Cornelians with the house of African the younger, (a Cornelian by adoption, but an Emilian born) they are about three and thirty persons in these 167 years, who were in great place, consuls, dictators and the like, as the Fabii. Some of them were also famous for their conduct in war, having been brave leaders and generals of armies, as the two Africans, their brother Lucius, their father and their uncle Publius and Cnæus: but for personal valour there are not many eminent; only Aulus Cornelius Cossus, who slew Tolumnius King

of the Veiens; and African I. (if it were he) who rescued his father at the battle of Tesin, are remarked for their personal valour. Now, neither of these two families doth equal the Douglasses; who in fewer years, viz. from the 1309 until 1588, about 300 years, brought forth twenty-seven persons, all singular for their valour, and some of them far beyond any of these, as may be seen. This advantage these Romans had, that living in the continent of Italy, and in a common-wealth which did so flourish, and was so great, their actions and deeds were more conspicuous, being acted in a more large and ample Theatre, than those of our men, who were pent up in a narrow and obscure corner of an Island, and had neither the Carthaginians nor Hannibal to fight against, whose overthrow would have given a greater splendour to their actions. And moreover they have had good heralds to sound their praise, aloud, and trumpet them abroad in the world; when as ours, *omnes occiderunt illacrimabiles, caruere quia vate sacros*. And yet even by this which we have been able to collect of them, our proposition will appear to be sufficiently proved: with which, as we began, so will we conclude, so many good, &c. in the world were never seen of one name and family.

Touching which assertion, I will earnestly entreat this favour of the courteous reader, that he would be pleased to consider what hath been said in an even balance and indifferent judgement, setting aside all prejudice and preconceived opinion of any worth in any nation; and if he do not approve of our conclusion, and assent to do it, let him calmly and modestly impart his reasons, and he shall find me one that shall be most willing and ready to retract what hath been said, and to give place to the truth, if I be not able to satisfy him in reason. For my own part, I protest, I speak as I think, and no more than I think; according to my reading and knowledge of men, and according to the measure of my judgement and undertsanding, without prejudice of any, who upon more knowledge, and out of better judgement, shall find things to be otherwise than I have thought. In the mean time we will set down here what we have said of them elsewhere, speaking

to king James, at his return into Scotland out of England, in the year 1617.

*Atque hæc inter tot diademata celsa, corollam
Annumerare tuis titulis fas ducis; et unam
Privatam (verum magnis a regibus ortam,
Regibus affinem magnis, regumque gerentem
Sæpe vicem, bellicæ domique; et quod satis unum est,
Gignentem celsum generoso semine regem;
Regem, quo tellus majorem non videt: unus
Qui terna imperii tractas screpta alma, Britanni)
Duglasiam, Angusiamque domum, virtute secundam
Haud ulli quas prisca aut Roma, aut Græcia jactat,
Seu numero heroum, seu robore mentis et armis,
Sive fide in patriam. Sceptrorum ut millia sceptris
Accumulesque tuis, numeresque in stemmate reges
Latus quocunque orbis habit; non ultima laus hæc,
Duglasiis etiam duxisse heroibus ortum,*

In English thus:

And thou hast thought it not unfit to set
Amongst thy many crowns this coronet:
A private family, and yet they be
Derived from Kings; and often did supply
The place of absent Kings in war and peace,
And what may be esteem'd a greater grace,
That from their loins thy royal self did spring:
Thy self! than whom earth sees no greater King,
You Britain's threefold sceptre justly wield,
Douglas nor Angus will to no house yield;
Not the most fam'd of Greece, or ancient Rome,
For numbers of brave men: Nor are o'ercome
In strength of mind, or arms, or faithful love
To their dear country. Should your state improve,
And you enjoy a thousand scepters more,
And draw your stock from all the numerous store
Of Kings; the whole world holds it would not be
Thy least praise, that a Douglas lives in thee.

A CATALOGUE OF THE LIVES.

CONTAINED IN THE

FIRST VOLUME OF THIS HISTORY.



Of the House of Douglas.

	Page.
OF Sholto Douglas, the first that bare the name of Douglas, and of whom all that bear that name are descended, - - - - -	1
Of Hugh Douglas, son to Sholto, and first of the name of Hugh, - - - - -	6
Of his Son Hugh the second, - - - - -	6
William, father of the Scoti in Italy, - - - - -	7
William, the first Lord, created at the Parliament of Forfar, - - - - -	14
John, the second Lord, - - - - -	15
William, the third Lord, - - - - -	15
Archibald, the fourth Lord, - - - - -	16
William, maker of the indenture with the Lord Abernethy, - - - - -	16
Hugh, whom his foes never found sleeping, - - - - -	21
William the Hardy, - - - - -	24
Good Sir James, slain in Spain, - - - - -	28
Hugh the ninth Lord, - - - - -	77
Archibald Lord of Galloway, slain at Halidon, - - - - -	77
William Lord of Liddisdale, the Flower of Chevalry, - - - - -	90
William the first Earl, - - - - -	116
James, slain at Otterburn, - - - - -	137
William Lord of Nithisdale, - - - - -	160

	Page.
Archibald the Grim, - . - - - - -	165
Archibald Tine-man, - - - - -	170
Archibald Earl of Wigton, - . - - -	197
William, slain in Edinburgh Castle, - - - - -	224
James the Gross, - - - - -	233
William, slain in Stirling, - - - - -	237
James, put into Lindores, - - - - -	388 2

THE
HISTORY
OF
THE HOUSE AND RACE
OF
DOUGLAS AND ANGUS.

Of SHOLTO DOUGLAS the First that bore the Name of DOUGLAS, and of whom all that bear that Name are descended.

TOUCHING the original of this illustrious family and name of Douglas, we must not look for an exact and infallible demonstration; things of this nature are not capable of it. Great antiquity is commonly accompanied with much uncertainty; and the originals even of cities, countries and nations, are grounded, for the most part upon no surer foundation than conjectural proofs, whose beginnings are more easily known, and better remembered than those of private families. In such cases we use to take that for truth which comes nearest to it amongst divers narrations; and must rest on that which is most probable and apparent, *Quis rem tam veterem pro certo affirmet?* (Liv. lib. 7. de lacu Curtio.) Says the historian in a matter not unlike. And we will say with the same author, *Cura non deesset, si qua ad verum via inquirentem ferret: nunc famæ standum est, ubi certam derogat vetustas fidem.* The

beginning of our nation, yea of both nations, Scots and English, such as they now are, or of those that were before, Picts and Britons, is not yet sufficiently cleared; neither is it as yet fully known from what people they are sprung, or how they got their name of Scots, English, Picts and Britons, although the learned have bestowed their pains, and employed their pens on this subject, to the wearying, but not satisfying of the reader. As for Scotland, Mr. Cambden grants so much, and mocks those that have laboured in it: yet hath he himself bestowed his time and pains to as small purpose in behalf of his countrymen the Britons: neither hath he done any thing, save that by his fruitless attempt, (notwithstanding all his bragging) he hath made it appear, that to go about it is but to labour in vain; he himself, after all his travel, remaining no less sceptic; and, to use his own words, Scotizing, than others. And even Rome itself, the mistress of the world, though the noon-tide of her empire be clear and bright, like the sun in her strength, yet how misty is the morning and dawning thereof. Darkness triumphs over the reigns and triumphs of her first kings; which are covered over with such uncertain obscurity, or rather drowned in so profound and deep night of darkness, that all her children, though they have beaten their brains, and spent much lamp-oil in searching of it, could never clear their mother's nativity, or vindicate their father Romulus's birth from the fable of the incestuous vestal, nor his nursing from being beholden to a she-wolf. *Detur hæc venia antiquitati, ut miscendo humana divinis primordia urbium augustiora faciat.* (Livius.) If he had said, that writers must have leave to be obscure or uncertain in setting down the original of cities, it could not well have been denied him; but for men to invent, and to thrust their inventions upon others to be believed, because they know not what else to say, *Detur hæc venia nobis*, to believe no more than is probable. Neither will that serve his turn, *Jam hoc gentes humanæ patiantur æquo animo, ut imperium patiuntur.* They may command our bodies, who cannot command our souls, or our belief; and now we have shaken off the yoke of the one, and so we do

reject the other. There is no less uncertainty in Plutarch's Thesus and Numa. Wherefore we must be contented, in the original of a private family, with what others are forced to content themselves in the beginning of cities, nations, kingdoms and empires; which are like to some rivers, whose streams and outlets are known, but their springs cannot be found out, as they report of Nilus. Yet this our narration doth better deserve credit than those of Romulus, Numa, Thesus, &c. seeing it contains nothing that is impossible, nothing that is fabulous or incredible: for here are neither gods for their fathers, nor ravening beasts their nurses. And although that the chronicle of our country now extant, makes no mention of their beginning, yet what we find there doth rather confirm than confute our deduction thereof. And indeed it is no wonder that they are silent in this point, if we consider how Edward I. of England, (sirnamed Longshanks) whom his countrymen term *Scotorum malleus*, the hammer of the Scots, because that he, deceiving the trust, and abusing the power of arbitrator, which was given him, to decide the right to the crown of Scotland between Bruce and Baliol, did so handle the matter, that setting them together by the ears, after they had well beaten and battered each other, he himself fell upon them both, and so hammered and bruised them, that he did thereby over-run all the low and plain champaign country. If we then consider, I say, how he had to make the Scots malleable and pliable to his unlimited ambition, after he had thus cut off the flower of the Scottish nobility, destroyed also all the laws of the realm, both civil and ecclesiastical, burnt the public registers, together with private monuments, evidences, charters, and rights of lands, we shall have greater cause to wonder, that any thing escaped so powerful a king, intending the full conquest of the country, and who had so jealous an eye over any thing that might encourage his new vassals to rebel, than that we have no more left us. Nay, although he had not done this of set purpose, and with intention to root out all memorials of nobility out of the minds of the Scots, and to embase their spirits, by concealing from them,

their descent and qualities; yet even the common chance and accidents of war were enough to excuse this defect: for the lord Douglas's lands lying in the south parts of Scotland, hard upon the borders of England, this calamity did chiefly afflict him; so that his houses were burnt, his castles razed, himself taken prisoner, and so all monuments of his original lost or destroyed. Let us remember also, besides all this, the quality and condition of those times, in which there was great scarcity of writers, and learned men, able to preserve the memory of things by their pens, all being set on war, unless it were some few cloistered monks and friars, who were both careless and illiterate drones. Notwithstanding all this, as no destruction is so general, and so far spread, but something doth escape the fury of it; and though all monuments had been defaced, yet some men being preserved, what was written in their minds and memories remaining unblotted out, they remembered what they had heard from their predecessors, and delivered it to posterity from age to age. By which means we have, as it were, some boards or planks preserved out of this shipwreck, which may perhaps keep us from being lost in this depth of antiquity, if it do not bring safe to land.

According then to the constant and general tradition of men, this was their original. During the reign of Solvathius king of Scotland, one Donald Bain (that is, Donald the white, or fair) having possest himself of all the western islands (called Ebudes or Hebrides) and intituling himself king thereof, aspired to set the crown of Scotland also upon his head. For effectuating whereof he gathered a great army; wherein he confided so much, that he set foot on the nearest continent of Scotland, to wit, the province of Kintyre and Lorne. The king's lieutenants, Duchal and Culen, governors of Athol and Argyle made head against him with such forces as they could assemble on the sudden. Donald trusting to the number of his men, did bid them battle, and so prevailed at first, that he made the king's army to give ground, and had now almost gained the day, and withal the kingdom, that lay

at stake both in his own conceit, and the estimation of his enemies. In the mean time a certain nobleman disdaining to see so bad a cause have so good success, out of his love to his prince, and desire of honour, accompanied with his sons, and followers made an onset upon these prevailing rebels, with such courage and resolution, that he brought them to a stand, and then heartening the discouraged fliers, both by word and example, he turns the chace, and, instead of victory, they got a defeat; for Donald's men being overthrown and fled, he himself was slain. This fact was so much the more noted as the danger had been great, and the victory unexpected. Therefore the king being desirous to know of his lieutenants the particulars of the fight, and inquiring for the author of so valiant an act, the nobleman being there in person, answer was made unto the king in the Irish tongue (which was then only in use) *Sholto Du glasse*, that is to say, Behold yonder black gray man, pointing at him, with the finger and designing him by his colour and complexion, without more ceremony or addition of titles of honour. The king considering his service and merits in preserving his crown, and delighted with that homely designation, rewarded him royally with many great lands, and imposed upon him the name of Douglas, which hath continued with his posterity until this day. And from him the shire and county, which he got, is called still Douglasdale, the river that watereth it, Douglas-river, the castle which he built therein, Douglas-castle. This narration, besides that it is generally received, and continued as a truth delivered from hand to hand is also confirmed by a certain manuscript of great antiquity, extant in our days in the hands of one Alexander Macduff of Tillysaul, who dwelt at Mooralehouse near Strathbogie. There (at his dwelling-house) William earl of Angus, who died at Paris 1616, being confined to the north in the year 1595, did see and peruse it. Neither doth this relation cross or disagree with any thing set down in our histories: for although they do not mention this man, nor his fact, yet they all speak of this usurper, and of his attempt and overthrow in the days of Solvathius, about the

year 767. Hollinshed and Boetius affirm, that this Donald was captain or governor of the isle of Tyre. Some do call him Bane Mack Donald, but Buchanan calleth him expressly Donaldus Banus, an easy error in so great affinity of name. There is another of the same name called likewise Donald Bane, who did also usurp the title of the kingdom, and was in like manner defeated in the reign of king Edgar, in the year 1000; but that being 333 years after this, and not much less after the emperor Charlemagne, in whose time they had now propagated and spread themselves in Italy, (as shall be shewed anon) it cannot agree either with this history of our Sholto, or with that Donald whom he defeated, this last seeming to be rightlier named Macdonald, as descended, and come of the former, who was Donald; wherefore there is nothing here either fabulous or monstrous, nothing incredible, or contrary to itself, or to reason, but all things very harmoniously answering one unto another; our tradition with the manuscript, and both of these agreeing with our own and foreign histories. And this concerning Sholto Douglas the root and original of the name and family.

*Of HUGH DOUGLAS, Son to SHOLTO, and First of
the Name of HUGH.*

TO Sholto succeeded his son Hugh, of whom we have nothing to write; but that he assisted his father at the overthrow of Donald Bane the usurper, there being nothing else recorded of him.

Of his Son HUGH the Second.

UNTO the former Hugh succeeded his eldest son named also Hugh; for he had two sons, Hugh and William. Hugh the elder lived at home in his native country as a nobleman, born to a great inheritance, whose actions, by the iniquity of

time are buried in silence; and therefore we will insist no longer thereon. His younger brother William (as it is the custom of younger brothers) went abroad into foreign countries to seek adventures of arms, if so he might make himself a fortune that way. Of him therefore we will speak next.

*Of WILLIAM DOUGLAS Father of the Honourable
Family of the SCOTI in Italy.*

THIS William was son to the first Hugh and grandchild to Sholto, younger brother to the second Hugh: he it is that was father to the noble family of the *Scoti* in Placenza in Italy, which fell out thus, as it is related by the Italian historians, agreeing with ours.

Achais king of Scotland, having succeeded to Solvathius, did enter into a league with Charlemagne, which league hath continued betwixt the Scots and French without breach on either side ever since until these our days; whereupon when the emperor Charles went into Italy to repress the insolencies of Desiderius king of the Lombards, committed against the See of Rome, Achais as his confederate did send him four thousand choice men, under the conduct of his brother William, a pious and valorous young prince.

Amongst other of his captains that went with him, this William Douglas was one of the chief, and had the leading of the men of arms. The emperor having restored Pope Leo III. to the dignity of his seat, as he returned through Tuscany, amongst other his notable acts, he restored also the commonwealth of Florence to their former liberty; in which exploit the valour and actions of the Scottish prince William were much remarked: the Florentines, to show their thankfulness to the emperor, took to their arms the Red-lillie, a part of the French arms, the colour only being changed: and in memory of the valour of prince William, they did institute public plays yearly, in which they crowned a lion with great ceremony and pomp, ordaining also that certain lions should be kept upon

the charges of the common treasury, because William had a lion for his arms, which is also the arms of the kings of Scotland. They have also a prophecy in Florence, which saith.

While crowned lions live in Florence field,
To foreign arms their state shall never yield.

This prince William brother to Achaius king of Scotland passed into Germany, and gave himself wholly to the wars, where, for his service by his sword, having obtained large territories, he led a single life all his days; and, thinking to make Christ his heir, he founded and doted fifteen abbacies for those of the Scottish nation. It is he, saith Major, who is named in songs made of him, Scottish Gilmore. Now while as the emperor and prince William were in their return from Italy towards France, William Douglas, in his voyage through Plaisance, did fall into a heavy disease, and not being able to go along with the emperor, staid at Plaisance till he recovered his health. And then considering the toil and danger of so long a journey, as it would be into his own country, he resolved rather to remain there, than to hazard his person any more, which such travel would have greatly endangered; wherefore, to gain the good-will of the citizens of Plaisance, and to strengthen himself (being a stranger) by a good alliance, he took to wife a daughter of Antonio Spettino, one of the most eminent and honourable houses in that city. By her he had many children, of whom are descended those of the most noble family of the *Scoti*, who are so called by reason of this William their ancestor, who was a Scotchman, the name of his country being better known, and more remarkable, than either his own proper name, or the name of his family. This original of the *Scoti* in Plaisance is collected and confirmed;

1. By the testimony of the Italian writers.
2. By the tree and genealogy of that family.
3. And by their coat of arms which they give, being the same with the ancient coat of the Douglasses, with some difference.

1. Touching our authors, they are such as have written the history of Plaisance, which is followed forth by Umbertus

Locatus, and Francisus Sansovinus. This last (Sansovinus) in the first book of his history, *de primo origine delle case illustri d' Italia*, writteth thus, *Quando Carolo Magno fece l' impresa in Italia contra desiderio re de Longobardi (l' anno 779) hebbe per suo Conduchiere di huomini di armi un Guilielmo Scozzese della Familia di Conti Duglasi, &c.* as we have set down before; only he calls it the 779 year, which our writers call 800 or 801. There he shows how this house was illustrious from the very first beginning thereof: and for their rank they held in that city, he declares that it was one of the four families which did distribute the offices of the city, which were these, *Scotta, Landra, Anguiscola, Fontona*. And they grew at last so numerous, and so famous both for letters and arms, that having purchased many rents and great lands and territories, together with many friends and alliance, they acquired the sovereignty of that city, and became absolute lords and princes thereof: so that from them, when they were princes of Plaisance, did spring the counts or earls of, 1. Vègelino, 2. Agazano, and 3. Sarmetti. They have been allied with the chief families in those provinces; viz. 1. Rangoni. 2. Fieshi. 3. Ressi, 4. Pallavicini, 5. Lodroni, 6. Strozzi, 7. Conti d'Arco, and they like. Then he reckons divers particular persons, and namely (which doth serve to confirm this deduction) Donatus Scotio bishop of Bobio, who lived in the year 846, or 848, who built a monastery without the walls of Plaisance, which he dedicated to the memory and honour of St. Bride, patroness of Douglas, in remembrance that he was a Douglas, as is probable. He built also a church within the walls, which he gave to the friars of the monastery of Bobio, who were of St. Coline, or Columbanus's order, who was abbot of Icolmkill, an island among the Scottish Hebrides. And this he did, saith Sansovino, *Non solamente per l' amor de Dio, ma anchora perche San Columbano fu di Hibernia I-sola de Scotia*: not only for the love of God, but because St. Colm, or Columbanus was of Ireland, an island of Scots land, so he thought, being a foreigner, that the Scots and Irish are mutually descended of each other. Then coming to

speak of their worth and valour, he reckons up above six and twenty persons who were ever valorous in whatsoever fortune good or bad, and had been in great employments continually, for the space of 285 years together, under the emperor Henry IV. Charles IV. and Sigismund: also under John king of Bohemia, and Duke John Maria, in divers places, at Pavia, Candia, in Cyprus, in Albania, Famagusta, at the isle of Tinos against the Turks; in all which services they behaved themselves valorously, and discharged their places with credit and honour. There were some also famous for learning, as Christophero Doctor of the Laws, and bishop of Cavaillon, in Provence of France, and Fiderico, an excellent jurisconsult, and who hath written learnedly. At last he relates how they were overthrown by the duke of Milan, who besieged Alberto Vechio the elder, and forced him to render upon composition, by which he gave divers castles, lands, and territories, and divers jurisdictions, with a competent estate and means. And here he reckons up above ten or twelve castles which they still possess, all famous and honourable, with the greatest privileges that can be.

II. As for the tree and genealogy of these Scoti, in it we have first, this our 1. William Douglas. 2. then David. 3. Lanfrancus, who had four sons, 1. Johannes, 2. Raynaldus, 3. Ruffinus, 4. Rollandus. Johannes had Albertus, who begat four sons; 1. Petrus, of whom we find no succession; 2. Nicholaus, of whom are descended the houses of Fombii, Guardamillii, and Cassaligii; 3. Francisus, or Francus, of whom are the counts of Volgolino, Agazano and Sarmetto, and those of Gragnani; 4. Jacobus, father of the family of the Castri sti Johannis. Lanfrancus second son, Raynaldus was progenitor to the Gravahi and Varsii. 3. Ruffinus his third son was author of the *Momaghi, Magnani, et domorum del Boscho*. 4. Of Rollandus his fourth son are descended the Passano and Aygveriz. These, with their offspring, have multiplied and spread themselves into divers parts of Italy. Also they are found in the Marquisate of Salluce, in France in Guienne, and about Bourdeaux, where they are known by

the name of Houglass, having corrupted the original name, as strangers are wont to do. There are also of these Scoti in the town of Antwerp in Brabant, amongst which Petrus and Cornelius Scoti, inhabitants and merchants there of the best sort, who being lately challenged and interrupted by the magistrates thereof, for presuming to set up the Douglas's arms upon the tombs of their fathers, did send over into Scotland, in the year 1619, a messenger on purpose (Alexander Seton by name) with their several letters signed with the names of Scoti alias Douglassi, directed unto the Right Honourable William Earl of Angus, Lord Douglas, &c. acknowledging their descent from his house, and intreating his honour's testimonial thereupon. Upon which request, the said Earl having examined the matter by his evidences, and other records, found their claim to be just and right, was moved to send them by the same messenger an authentic patent of their pedigree under the broad seal of Scotland, as likewise under the hands and several seals of William Earl of Angus, William Earl of Morton, dated the 16th day of March, 1621. In which patent the said Petrus and Cornelius's extraction from this William father of the Scoti, and grandchild to Sholto, is deduced particularly, as may be seen in the public register of Scotland. 3. As for the ancient arms of the house of Douglas, they were three mullets, or stars, only in a field azure, until good Sir James did add the crowned heart, because king Robert Bruce did concredit to him the carrying of his heart and burying of it at Jerusalem. The Italian Douglasses, or Scoti, having come off before him, kept the the field coat unaltered, as may be seen in their tombs and other monuments: for in Plaisance, in St. Lawrence church, where there are above twelve several monuments and tombs of that family, (it being their burial place,) whereof some are of marble, surrounded with iron-grates, there is an ancient monument of a noble lady near unto the high altar, bearing these three mullets, with this inscription, *Margareta Scota Contessa de Burla*: but now the Italian Douglasses, or Scoti, give but two mullets, and between two they have drawn a

beam argent, which begins at the right hand, and ends at the left. The reason of this difference is given in this letter sent by the Conte de Agazano to this present Earl of Angus; which we will set down in his own words as he sent it written, and signed with his own hand, and sealed with his seal.

My honourable Lord, William Douglas,

WHEN I had the honour to see you at Orleans, I promised to send you the tree of the family of the Scoti of Plaisance; which is descended of the illustrious house of Douglas: but because I have not hitherto had a convenient opportunity of sending it safely, I have not yet paid this debt. Now therefore having found the occasion of this gentleman, my friend, who was to go into England, I would delay no longer to send the tree or genealogy; which I have done, beseeching your Lordship, as you promised me, to honour me with the tree of the house of Douglas in Scotland, at least, so much of it as the iniquity of times past, and the wars in that kingdom have suffered to remain undefaced and undestroyed, and I shall rest your Lordship's obliged for this favour.

The old arms of the Scoti in Plaisance, were conformed to the old arms of the Douglas, as may be seen in the foresaid city, in the church of Saint Lawrence. But when the Ghelfs and Ghibellines did war one against another in Italy, the Scoti, as partners of the French, were chosen to be heads of the Ghelfs in Plaisance. And because all things of an odd or unequal number were taken for Ghibelline, they were constrained to change the number of three stars, into either four or two. But esteeming that it was not fit to increase the number, they resolved to take one from them; in the place of which (in memory of it) they put a white or argent bar, which beginning at the right hand, is drawn along, and ends at the left: for if it had begun at the left, and ended at the right hand, it had been Ghibelline. The field which was given by the emperor Henry IV. together with a pelican for the crest, which is the crest of the Scoti only, who

carry it at this hour, and the field of the whole family generally.

I have thought good to make this short digression, that your Lordship might have some knowledge wherefore this change was made in our coat: your Lordship should do me a singular favour, if you would be pleased to write unto me of the receipt of this tree, in the arms of which the coronet is wanting, because the crest is the place where it should be, and to honour me with your letters, which you may send to my noble captain the Duke of Nevers, and so they shall come safe to me; for which favour I shall be particularly obliged to your Lordship. So kissing your Lordship's hands, together with these of your brethren and children, I pray the Lord to bless you with all happiness and prosperity.

Your Lordship's humble Servant and Cousin,

MARK ANTONIA SCOTO, Count d' Agazano.

Paris, 8th May, 1622.

This tree was received by the Earl of Angus, who did also send to him the tree of the house of Douglas.

Now, besides all this which we have said, the evidences and monuments, charters and writs of privilege of their house do witness the same; for in the privileges granted to them by the emperor Henry IV. and Sigismund, as also by Giovanni Maria Duke of Milan, the surname of Douglas is expressly inserted with the titles of Earls given to three several persons of that house, first Francisco, created Conte de Vigolino, Giovanni, his brother, Conte d' Agazano, by the said Duke, and to Alberto, expressly intituled, Conte de Douglas et Vigolino, by Sigismund the emperor.

Now, after all this, I hope we may justly say with John Lesly, Bishop of Ross, that the Scoti in Plaisance are come of the Douglasses in Scotland. And thus much for William the second, son to Hugh the first, and grandchild to Sholto.

*Of WILLIAM the First Lord, created Lord of DOUGLAS
at the Parliament of Forfar.*

NOW to return home again to the Scottish Douglasses, we find that king Malcolm Kenmore, in a parliament held at Forfar in Angus, in the year 1057, as the manuscript, Major and Buchanan have it, but according to Boetius, 1061, did create many earls, and barons (or lords) and knights, amongst whom there is *Gulielmus a Douglas*, who was made a baron. The words are these, “Malcolm the 86th king of Scots, being crowned at Scone in the year 1061, convened a parliament at Forfar, where, according to the custom of other nations, he ordained that noblemen should have their titles to be distinguished by their possessions and lands, which had not been the custom of this country in former times. And so he created some counts or earls, others barons or lords, and others cavaliers or martial knights: he made Macduff earl of Fife, who had been thane of Fife, Patrick Dunbar, earl of March: he made also others of the nobility earls of Monteith, Athol, Mar, Murray, Caithness, Ross, Angus. John Souls, David Dardier of Abernethy, Simon of Twedale, William of Douglas, Gillespie Cameron, David Brichen, Hugh of Calder, were made barons or lords; others more he knighted likewise a great many, so that few thanes were left.” This note of these very words were extracted out of the register and monuments of Icolmkill, and sent to George Buchanan, when he was in writing his history of Scotland, whereof John Reid, (Buchanan’s servitor and amanuensis) having reserved a copy, did communicate it to divers afterward. Now here this William being ranked among the nobility, who were chosen out to receive these new honours, could be no mean man; but in all likelihood, the chief and principal of that name, and so the eldest descended of Sholto and his son Hugh the first, and his grandchild Hugh the second, by lineal succession. This is all we have of him, save that it is a received general report and tradition, that his two sons John

and William were knights at the same parliament, which is an argument that he hath been a man of good esteem and eminent place.

Of JOHN the Second Lord of DOUGLAS.

WILLIAM did leave behind him two sons, John and William, both knights, the eldest was Sir John of Douglas-burn, which is a parcel of ground and manor lying betwixt Etrick-Forest and Peebles. The other was William of Glendinning, which is about the upmost parts of West-Tiviotdale near to Eusdale. Now whether this John did succeed to his father in the lordship, as being his eldest son and heir, who was designed (during his father's lifetime only) by the title of Douglas-burn, or whether he had an elder brother, and so both he and Sir William were but cadets of the house of Douglas, we cannot affirm: but thus much they say, that these two brothers were men of great power and authority, and very worthy and valiant gentlemen. They affirm also, that Sir William of Glendinning had two sons Alexander and William, of whom are descended those of Cressewell, Strabrock, Pompherston, Pittendrigh, and Calder-clear.

Of WILLIAM the Second of that Name, and Third Lord of DOUGLAS.

WE have but little mention of this man, only in a charter granted to the town of Ayr by King David, first son to King Malcolm Kenmore, he is inserted a witness, without any other title or designation, than William of Douglas. This charter was given the 25th or 27th year of his reign, the year of God 1151, two years before his death, which was 1153.

*Of ARCHIBALD the Fourth Lord of DOUGLAS, and
First of that Name.*

THERE is as little mention made of this Archibald as of the former William; we find him only inserted witness in a second charter granted to the town of Ayr, by Alexander the second son to King William, in the 22d of his reign, and of our redemption, 1236.

*Of the Third WILLIAM, and Fifth Lord of DOUGLAS,
Maker of the Indenture with the Lord ABERNETHY.*

THIS William is found in an indenture made betwixt him and the Lord Abernethy, which the earls of Angus have yet extant, amongst their other evidences and rights of their lands. The date of this indenture is on Palm-sunday, in the year 1259, in the reign of Alexander III. the place, the castle of Edinburgh. It is a contract of marriage, in which the father, called there William Lord Douglas, doth contract his son Hugh Douglas to Marjory Abernethy, sister to Hugh Lord Abernethy; the sum and contents thereof are, that the marriage shall be solemnized on Pasch-day, that all things may be perfected before Ascension-day. The conditions are these, for the Lord Abernethy's part, that he shall give with his sister to Hugh Douglas, *viginti carictas terræ* (perhaps it should be *carrucatas terræ*) twenty plough-gate of land in the town of Glencors. And for the Lord Douglas part, that he shall give to his son Hugh Douglas and Marjory his wife, twenty plough-gate of land in the feu of Douglas. The witnesses are Alexander Cupin earl of Buchan, Raynold Cum-in, John of Dundie-moor, and one Douglas, whose Christian name was worn away, (plainly Andrew in the original yet extant) and could not be read. This should seem to be that indenture which Sir Richard Metellane of Lethington, father

to John Lord of Thirlestane, sometime chancellor of Scotland, of worthy memory, doth mention in his manuscript, where he hath carefully collected some memoirs of the house of Douglas. He says, that Sir John Ballantine of Achnoute knight, did show to John Lesly bishop of Ross, one indenture that makes mention of Douglasses eighty years before that Lord William (the Hardie) who was contemporary with William Wallace; and this indenture is very near so long before his time: but he saith, that the Lord Abernethy, who doth there indenture with the Lord Douglas, was father to Marjory, and our indenture makes him brother to her. It may be there have been two indentures, one before this made by her father, which not being accomplished during his life, hath been renewed by his son or brother, or that they have mistaken it, for there is no other save this only, which doth clearly call him her brother, amongst their writs and evidences. Upon this there was drawn up a charter, without date of either time or place; only it appears by the tenor thereof, that it was made after the indenture. The giver is the same Lord William to Hugh his son and heir; the lands disposed to him are, Glaspen, Hartwood, Kennox, and Carmackhope and Leholm; together with the lands, says he, that are in suit of law betwixt me and the heirs of John Crawford, without any detriment. Then the cause of his giving is set down, that they may be a dowry to Marjory Abernethy his son's wife, and sister to Hugh Lord Abernethy. Ever after this he entitles his son, Sir Hugh of Douglas. It hath an express caveat, that if after the marriage be solemnized, the said Sir Hugh of Douglasdale, shall happen to die, or if he shall through some devilish or wicked disposition, abstain from copulation with her, she shall brook and enjoy these lands, although the said Lord William should be alive: and if the said Marjory shall outlive the said Lord William, though her husband Hugh should die before him, yet he shall have the third part of his lands in Douglasdale, excepting the third of so much as the said Lord William shall leave to his wife. There is in it another very

strange point, and as it were a provision in case of divorce-ment, or not consummating the marriage, viz. that if the said Sir Hugh, or Lord Hugh be then, after his father's death, living lord and heir, or have an heir by any other wife, the said Marjory shall possess the lands notwithstanding, all the days of the said Hugh's life. Now he could not have an heir by another wife, unless he were first divorced from her. There is also one clause more touching her security, that if the Lord Abernethy, or his council shall desire any other security reasonable, by charter or hand-write, that they shall cause make the conveyance as they think good, and Lord William shall sign it, and set his seal to it. The seal at this is longer than broad, fashioned like a heart, the letters thereon are worn away and not decernable save only (W^{ll}) and the arms seem to be three stars or mullets at the upper end thereof: but I cannot be bold to say absolutely they were so. This I have set down the more particularly and punctually, that by these circumstance the truth may be more clear, and free from all suspicion of forgery and invention. I have done it also, that though every one be not curious, or taken with these things, such as are, of which number I profess myself to be one, may find something to please their harmless desire of the not unpleasant, and someway profitable knowledge of antiquity.

By this indenture it is clear that this William is not the same with William Hardie, who died in prison, and was father to good Sir James, because his name was William, and had a son Hugh, as the other also had: for if we do but suppose that Hugh contracted to Marjory Abernethy was twenty five years of age at the making of the indenture, 1259, and that his father Lord William was twenty-five years elder than his son Hugh, fifty in all; then must he have been, when he married the young English lady, by whom he had divers children, and when he assisted William Wallace, when he surprised the castles of Sanquhair and Disdeir, and performed other warlike exploits, being still in action till 1300, about ninety or a hundred years of age, which carries no

likelihood with it, that one so old should be so able of his body; besides this Lord William, the author of this indenture, had for his eldest son and heir this Hugh, contracted to Marjory Abernethy, but the eldest son and heir to that Lord William was good Sir James, who died in Spain: for all our histories do tell how that the bishop of St. Andrews did sue King Edward for good Sir James, to restore him to his father's lands and inheritance; but King Edward refused to do it: and in a charter given by King Robert Bruce, in the 15th year of his reign, at Berwick-upon-Tweed, of the lordship of Douglas, these express words are contained, *Jacobo domino de Douglas, filio et heredi Gulielmi de Douglas*. This good Sir James dying without heir-male lawfully gotten of his own body, his brother Hugh succeeded to him in the year 1342, in which year the same Hugh doth give a charter of the said lands and lordship, to wit, Douglasdale, together with the lands of Carmichael, Selkirk, &c. to his nephew William son to Archibald his brother, which William did succeed to Hugh, he having no heirs-male: he was afterwards Earl of Douglas. Now it is against all reason to think that he that was contracted to Marjory Abernethy, 1259, should be the same with this Hugh who gives this charter, 1342, seeing he must be now 106 or 107 years of age, which is not probable.

This William had to wife Martha, sister of Alexander Earl of Carrick, who bare to him two sons, Hugh his eldest, and William the Hardie. By their alliance with the house of Carrick, besides that he was not a little strengthened, they being great men and powerful, it fell out that his posterity became of kindred to King Robert Bruce: for Fergus Lord of Galloway had two sons; the elder Gilbert, and Ethred the younger. At his death he ordained that the lordship of Galloway should be divided betwixt them, which was done accordingly; and the division was ratified and confirmed by King William, who did then reign: but the king being afterwards taken prisoner at Anwick by the English, Gilbert nothing contented with the division, having got Ethred his brother into his hands, caused put out his eyes, and possessed

himself of the whole lordship, and kept it till he died, which was before the king's return out of England, before which Ethred also was dead. These two brothers left each of them a son behind them; Gilbert left Alexander, and Ethred, Rowland. This Rowland finding his faction the stronger, thrust out his cousin Alexander, and seized upon the whole estate himself alone, and, at the king's return, took a new gift thereof of the king, who gave also to Alexander, Gilbert's son, in recompence and lieu thereof, the earldom of Carrick. This Alexander had but one sister named Martha, who was married to this Lord William Douglas; he went into Syria with Edward Prince of Wales, who was brother-in-law to king Alexander III. sent by the king and state, at the Pope's request to fight against the Saracens. There went with him the Earl of Athol, and many brave knights and gentlemen; in which expedition he died, leaving only one daughter his heir, Martha Countess of Carrick. She was married to Robert Bruce, son to Robert Bruce, who is known by the name of Robert the noble, and to Isabel second daughter to David Earl of Huntington. To this Robert the Countess of Carrick bare Robert Bruce, who was afterwards king of Scotland. So then we see how Martha Countess of Carrick, and William the Hardie were cousin-germans; and her son king Robert Bruce and good Sir James, cousins once removed: so that not only the thrall'd liberties of Scotland, and his private losses, did oblige Sir James to side with king Robert, and to stick so constantly to him, but this tie of blood and consanguinity also, being so near a kinsman. We are also to observe here, that Martha Countess of Carrick was also the nearest, just and rightful heir to the lordship of Galloway, being descended of the elder brother Gilbert, and therefore to be preferred before Allan, who was descended of the younger brother Ethred by Rowland his father; and after her and her heirs, her father's sister, married to this Lord William, was next heir to both the earldom of Carrick and lordship of Galloway. Whether this title did move the Douglasses to seek the lordship of Galloway, as they did afterward, and helped them to

obtain it the more easily of the king, or of others descended of Allan, and of his heirs, I leave it to be considered. However that be, we may see, by the matching with this honourable house of Carrick, Galloway and Abernethy, the chief peers in this realm as then, that the house of Douglas was of no small esteem and account long before good Sir James, and that they mistake things far, and are but ill versed in antiquity, that think he was the first that did raise that name to nobility or greatness, this William's marriage having preceded his time eighty years at least.

*Of Sir HUGH, the Third of that Name, and
Sixth Lord of DOUGLAS.*

WILLIAM had to his eldest son and lawful successor, Sir Hugh Douglas, who, as we have said, was married to Marjory Abernethy, daughter to Alexander, and sister to Hugh Lord of Abernethy. This house of Abernethy were friends and followers of the Cumings, and did assist and party them in all their enterprises, as we may see by their joining with them at Kinross, when they took king Alexander III. Their credit and favour with their princes appears by this, that Lord William Abernethy got of king William the Abbacy of Aberbrothock, or (as it may be thought rather, for the writing was dim and hard to discern) the collegiate church-lands of Abernethy, paying thence yearly twenty pounds. This Hugh Abernethy obtained also of king Alexander III. a charter of the lands of Lenry, and a pension of fifty pounds sterling a year; likewise he got from the same king a confirmation of the lands of Hulkstone and Lilestone. In these gifts the Cumings still are witnesses, and with them styled Patrick Earl of Dunbar. We find also a gift of twenty pound land, granted by Isabel Countess of Strathern, relict of Walter Cuming and her husband John Russel. In the days of Babil this house was so powerful, that they were able to make

their party good against the Earl of Fife, whom they slew, and were winked at by Baliol. With this house did Sir Hugh match, as his father had done with Carrick and Galloway, which, as it was an honourable alliance for him, so doth it also argue that the house of Douglas even then was noble and honourable, and in the rank amongst the greatest, as we have said.

How long this Sir Hugh Lord Douglas did live after his contract and marriage, we cannot find: but it is clear that he had no children that survived and outlived their father; because his brother William was his heir and successor. Neither can we relate any of his particular actions, only fame and tradition have given him a received testimony of activity, watchfulness and diligence, by terming him good Sir Hugh Douglas, whom his foes found never sleeping. He, with his wife, are buried in St. Bride's church in Douglas.

*Of WILLIAM the Hardy, or Long Leg, the Fourth
WILLIAM, and Seventh Lord of DOUGLAS.*

TO Hugh did succeed his brother William, who, for his valour and courage is distinguished by the addition of William the Hardy; he is named also William Long Leg, by reason of his tall and goodly stature, having been a very personable man. He was twice married; first to the Lord Keith's sister, by whom he had two sons, James and Hugh, as is evident by a charter of resignation made by his son Hugh to his nephew William the first earl of Douglas: his next wife was an English lady called Ferrar, or Ferrais, of which name we find the Earls of Derby to have been in the days of King Henry III. She bare also two sons, Archibald lord of Galloway, and John, of whom are descended the lords of Dalkeith, Mains, and Lochleven.

Concerning himself, we find in the English Chronicle, that when King Edward I. took in the town of Berwick, in the

year 1295, he was captain of the castle there, and not being able to resist and hold out, the town being in the enemies hands, he rendered the place with himself also a prisoner, where he remained until the wars were ended, by the yielding of John Baliol to King Edward. During the time of his captivity he was to marry this English lady, that so he might be drawn to favour the king's pretensions in conquering of Scotland. But his matching did not alter his affection towards his native country, nor broke his constancy in performing his duty to it.

Wherefore, when he heard that William Wallace was risen up, and had taken open banner against the English, he joined with him; by which accession of forces Wallace's army was much increased and strengthened; yet they were not always together, but according to the occasion, and as opportunity did offer, they did divide their companies, and went to several places, where they hoped to get best advantage of the enemy, and where there needed no great army, but some few companies at once. In these adventures Lord William recovered from the English the castles of Disdeir and Sanquhair. The manner of his taking the castle of Sanquhair is said to have been thus; there was one Anderson that served the castle, and furnished them with wood and fuel, who had daily access to it upon that occasion. The Lord Douglas directs one of his trustiest and stoutest servants to him to deal with him, to find some means to betray the castle to him, and to bring him within the gates only. Anderson, either persuaded by entreaty, or corrupted with money, gave my Lord's servant, called Thomas Dickson, his apparel and carriages, who coming to the castle, was let in by the porter for Anderson. Dickson presently stabbed the porter, and giving the signal to his Lord, who lay near by with his companies, set open the gates, and received them into the court. They being entered, killed the captain, and the whole English garrison, and so remained masters of the place. The captain's name was Beuford, a kinsman to his own lady Ferrais, who had oppressed the country that lay near to him very insolent-

ly. One of the English that had been in the castle escaping, went to the other garrisons that were in other castles and towns adjacent, and told them what had befallen his fellows, and withal informed them how the castle might be recovered: whereupon joining their forces together, they came and besieged it. The Lord Douglas finding himself straitened, and unprovided of necessaries for his defence, did secretly convey his man Dickson out at a postern or some hidden passage, and sent him to William Wallace for aid; Wallace was then in Lennox, and hearing of the danger Douglas was in, made all the haste he could to come to his relief. The English having notice of Wallace's approach, left the siege, and retired toward England, yet not so quickly, but that Wallace, accompanied with Sir John Graham did overtake them, and killed 500 of their number, before they could pass Dalswinton. By these and such like means, Wallace, with his assistants having beaten out the English from most part of their strengths in Scotland, did commit the care and custody of the whole country, from Drumlanrig to Ayr, to the charge of the Lord Douglas. Now however there be no mention of these things in our chronicle, yet seeing the book of Wallace (which is more particular in many things) speaks of them, and the charter of the house of Simington, descended lineally of the said Thomas Dickson, who, for this and his other like services done to this Lord, and afterward to his son good Sir James, got the twenty merk land of Hisleside, which his posterity doth enjoy still, holding of the Lords of Douglas and Angus; and there is no doubt to be made, but he hath done much more in his assistance he gave Wallace, than is recorded or extant any where, there being no likelihood that in those so busy times, these so valiant and brave warriors did lie idle, though the particulars lie buried in deep silence. And certainly it was not for nought that his lands were burnt by Robert Bruce himself, his wife and children taken prisoners, and brought to the king of England; his wife and children were taken by Bruce, himself by the Lord Clifford. King Edward required him to take his oath of fidelity to the crown of Eng-

land, and become his subject, which he utterly refusing to do, his lands were given to the Lord Clifford, and himself committed prisoner, and so he continued to the hour of his death. During which time he never abated any thing of his magnanimous courage and constancy, but showed himself worthy of his noble progenitors, and no ways short of whatever worth either they had, or fame hath bestowed on them: so did he also well deserve to be predecessor to such successors, and father to such posterity: who, as we shall hear hereafter, did follow this virtuous example and pattern. How praise-worthy is it in him, that neither the danger of his own person, being in the hands and power of his enemy, nor the example of so many as did yield to the victorious conqueror, there being few or none beside William Wallace that stood out against him, nor not the desperate case and state of his country brought to so low an ebb, could break his resolution to remain firm to his native soil; notwithstanding that, by all appearance, all was irrecoverably lost: so that his standing out against the king could bring no help to it, and certain enmity, for ought could be seen, to himself and his posterity for ever.

Setting aside all these regards, which are so common, and so highly accounted of in this our last age, not measuring duty by profit or commodity, nor following the common rules of that wisdom which now reigns in the world, which is to respect and prefer our particular before all other things; but weighing matters in another balance, and squaring his actions by what was generous and right, rather than that which was gainful and advantageous for himself; he hath left an example of true wisdom, virtue and honesty, and of true magnanimity unto others. He died a free man in despite of his enemies, though a prisoner, and bore witness of the liberty of his country, that it did not serve, but was oppressed, convincing the tyrant of that time of violence, and the advocates and proctors which he either then had, or since have pleaded for him in that debate, of most impudent and manifest lying: and there are some even in our days scarce yet ashamed of so shameful an assertion as to affirm, that Scotland, and some

of their kings have yielded obedience and homage to a foreign prince, acknowledging him for their sovereign. But the truth hereof is, that it hath been oppressed, but never served: it hath been overcome, and over-run; but it never yielded: and afterwards, through constancy and courage, did at last overcome the overcomer, and shake off the yoke of foreigners in spite of all their force and fraud, whereof as the Lord Douglas in this catastrophe of his life is a pregnant witness; so hath he left behind him an honourable memory of an invincible mind, and a lesson for tyrants, to teach and let them see how weak a thing tyranny is, and how small power and force it hath when it meets with true courage, though it were but of one man, who overcomes their force and falsehood with truth and constancy: and certainly this lord's virtue and merits are such, as, however, those that come after him did fall into more happy times, and had better occasions to show themselves, and to make their actions more conspicuous towards their country; yet there is no reason why he should be thought inferior to any one of them, because his fortune was harder than theirs: nay he ought rather to be preferred so much the more, as he was more assailed, and compassed about with difficulties, and did wrestle with the necessities of the times without shrinking or succumbing under the burden: besides it was he that planted and laid the foundation, upon which they builded so honourable enterprises, and did perfect what they had begun.

Some write, that he being cited by King Edward, with others of this country, appeared upon the citation, and that he was not apprehended by fraud or force, but came of his own accord to Berwick; which if he did, it hath not been to confess or acknowledge any servitude or homage as due to Edward or the English, but to plead for the liberty of his country, and to protest and testify against his usurpation. Others say, that he and the Bishop of Glasgow being challenged to partake in a conspiracy against King Edward, under a pretext of a treaty with Percy, to avoid the imputation of disloyalty and treason, of which he would not be partaker, he came

and yielded himself to the king, which, if it be true, was a very honourable and generous fact, remarkable and rare to be found, that no love of his country, nor hatred of tyranny, so strong and powerful motives, could draw him to be partaker of any dishonest action, though against his enemy. Methinks such noble carriage might have procured more noble dealing at King Edward's hands, and have wrung more favour from him, which since it did not, it may be taken as an argument of want of goodness in himself, who had neither judgement to discern in virtue, nor a heart to honour it in others: but, for my own part, I think it most likely that he was taken by one means or other, and brought in against his will; but whether he was brought in with his will, or came in against his will, that word of yielding, which they ascribe to him, is either very impertinent, or else very warily to be understood, to wit, for the yielding of his person only, not of the liberty of his country, which he never yielded; neither for the acknowledging of any English authority over it or himself, which he never would do, but chose rather to die in prison in Hog's tower in Berwick. There are that say he was sent from Berwick to Newcastle, and from thence carried to York, in the castle whereof he died, and was buried in a little chapel at the south end of the bridge, which is now altogether decayed. His death, which is reckoned by some to have fallen out in the year 1307, must have been sooner, in the year 1302; for his son Sir James returned into Scotland in the year 1303, when Edward was at Stirling, where the Bishop of St. Andrews did recommend him to the king: now Sir James came not home till he heard news of his father's death. It is also said of this lord, that he had the Isle of Man, whether as heritable possessor, or as governor only, it is not known; but it is well known that this island belonged to the crown of Scotland, and that the Douglasses have had more than an ordinary interest therein; Douglas-castle and Douglas-haven, which carry their names to this day, do bear sufficient witness: but whether from this man, or some other, is not so easy to determine peremptorily.

*Of Good Sir JAMES, the First JAMES, and Eighth
Lord of DOUGLAS.*

THE next is James, commonly called Good Sir James, whom men account as the first of whom the house of Douglas received the beginning of their greatness, which came at last to exceed others so far, that it did almost pass the bounds of private subjects. He was, as we have said already, son to the same William by his first wife the Lord Keith's sister: his education in his youth is said to have been in virtue and letters; first at Glasgow, afterwards at Paris: for his father being incumbered with wars, and at last imprisoned, his uncle Robert Keith conveyed him away to Paris in the time of Philip le Belle, where he remained exercising himself in all virtuous exercise, and profited so well, that he became the most complete, and best accomplished young nobleman in the country, or elsewhere. Being certified of his father's death, the love of his native soil made him to return into Scotland, to order the course of his life, by the counsel and advice of his friends. But when he came home, finding his patrimony disposed by King Edward to the Lord Clifford, and his friends scattered and dispersed, having by his mother some relation of kindred to William Lambert, Archbishop of St. Andrews, he addressed himself to him, who did receive him kindly, and entertain him nobly. And when King Edward I. was come to Stirling in his last journey (at that time he in a manner over-ran all Scotland, and destroyed the monuments thereof) the archbishop going thither to salute him, carried this young man along with him; and taking this opportunity presented him to King Edward, humbly entreating him to take him into his protection and to restore him into his father's inheritance, and employ him in his service, as a youth of great hope and expectation, and such as might be useful and stedable, if he should be pleased to use him. The king demanded what he was; and having understood what his name and his lineage was, and that he was son to Lord William, did absolutely re-

fuse to do him any courtesy or favour; nay, he could not refrain from reproachful and contumelious words against the obstinacy and treason (so he was pleased to nick-name virtue) of his father, saying, that he had no service for him, nor for any such traitor's son as his father was; that he had given his lands to better men than himself, and those that had done him better service than he was able to do; and though they had not been given, yet would he never have given them to him: so implacable he was, and such pride had he conceived, with contempt of the depressed state of this supplicant, little remembering the variableness of the estate of man, and little knowing or considering what weight and moment may be in one man alone, in whatsoever condition, to brawl sometimes, and to help even to disappoint and overthrow the enterprizes of the mightiest monarchs. It came even so to pass in this man, who did this king's son and successor such a piece of shrewd service, as he had never the like in all his life; which had been more shrewd, if the speed of his horses, and the undutifulness of some Scots, that received him into their castle of Dunbar, when he fled from Bannockburn, had not stood him in better stead than all his huge host and rich kingdom, wherewith he was so puffed up. Whereby princes and great men may learn not to despise the meanness and and most afflicted state of any, nor to loose the reins neither to unjust actions or reproachful words.

Sir James being thus rebuked, what could he do against a king, a monarch, a victorious and triumphant king, to whom all had yielded, with whom all went well, in his highest pitch of grandeur, and compassed about with his guards and his armies? To controul him, he was not able; to plead for justice, it would avail him nothing; to reply could profit him less: a prince, his victor's word is a law, nay more than a law for the time. There was no contesting, no contradicting, were his speeches never so unjust: he behoved to swallow this pill (how bitter soever) there was no remedy but patience. Nay, the archbishop must be silent also, and dares not mutter one word: wherefore home he goes with this scorn, to

expect a better time of replying, not in words, but deeds, and of shewing what service he was able to have done to him. The occasion of which, though it were too long in coming in respect of his desire, yet did fall out, not very long after; for within two or three years (1305) Robert Bruce came into Scotland, not yet a king, save in courage, but having right to be king of the country, whom Edward had served in the same kind, and who had received the like answer and scorn in a petition not unlike; for both did crave their father's inheritance, Sir James only a lordship, and the Bruce a whole kingdom, which was but his due, and he had done him better service than Sir James. He had fought against his own country for him, spent the blood of his friends, and his own, in hope of it; with great loss to himself and example to others not to do the like. But neither duty, desert, nor promise could oversway his ambition, and master it so far as to suffer him to perform what he had promised: and not content to have fed this prince with the food of fools, fair hopes, and after so much employment and many notable services, to frustrate him, he must needs also embitter all with a flouting answer to his demand. To such a height of pride had prosperity raised him, that no modesty could keep him from losing the reins to an unbridled tongue, which doth never beseem a man, much less a prince: wherefore as hatred and despite did animate him against Sir James, for his father's refusing to serve him; so ambition did work the same affection in him against Robert, though he had served him; both were refused of their suits, both their petitions were rejected; the one with spite, the other with derision. What (saith king Edward, being urged with his promise of giving the kingdom of Scotland to Bruce) "Have we nothing else" to do, but to conquer kingdoms for you?" Kings, potentates, and victors should not be pressed with their promises: so they think, and so men say, laws are not made for them, which they leap over at their pleasure. And it might be thought so perhaps, if their power were perfect, and if there were not a more absolute and over-ruling power that is able

to range them under reason. We shall find it so, even in this particular afterwards, although this were no time for him to reply; no more than it had been for Sir James at Stirling. But the time being now come in the year 1305, as said is.

But the time being now come, though not so fit as he could have wished, yet as it was he behoved to use it, and make virtue of necessity. And so withdrawing himself secretly out of England, he came to Dumfries and there slew John Cuming his greatest enemy, determining from thenceforth to behave and carry himself as king of this realm. And here by the way, we may observe God's providence towards this kingdom, in preserving the liberties thereof, who had before stirred up William Wallace like another Samson to vindicate it out of the hands of the English. Now that he is gone, he sends home our lawful prince, and righteous successor to the crown, to fight our battles for us, and to perfect what the other had begun; only for so much as about this time, John Monteith, under colour of friendship, had betrayed William Wallace into the hands of the English for money; and he being taken and carried into London, was by King Edward's command tortured and put to death with great cruelty; and his arms, legs, and head, hung up in the most eminent places and cities both of England and Scotland. Of which fact of Edward's we will say no more, but only set down the said Wallace's epitaph, which is prefixed to that book that is written of his exploits in Scots rhyme.

Envious Death, who ruins all,
Hath wrought the sad lamented fall
Of Wallace, and no more remains
Of him than what an urn contains.
We for our Hero ashes have,
He for his armour a cold grave.
He left the earth too low a state,
And by his worth o'ercame his fate.
His soul Death had no power to kill,
His noble deeds the world doth fill
With lasting trophies of his name.
O hadst thou virtue lov'd or fame

Thou couldst not have insulted so
Over a brave betrayed foe,
Edward, nor seen those limbs expos'd
To public shame, fit to be clos'd
As reliques in a holy shrine;
But now the infamy is thine.
His end crowns him with glorious bays,
And stains the brightest of thy praise.

But to return to our Sir James. He is no sooner advertised of the Bruce's arrival into Scotland, and of the Cuming's slaughter, when without either summons or entreaty, (save of his own mind in that common case sympathizing with the other) he resolves to try his fortune in that course with him. But what could he do, poor gentleman, being in such necessity, and destitute of all help: he had neither horse nor armour, nor followers for such a business; all was gone, and violently taken from him by the iniquity of the times, and the prevailing of the enemy. There was neither friend nor mean left for his provision. Shall he burden archbishop Lambert? What could a prelate do? What could he, especially being under the beast's feet, as we say, and subject to King Edward? It is better sometimes to force a friend than to endanger him. Compulsion may be used where there is peril in the consenting; chiefly if the party be not unwilling, the ground right, and the cause good: otherwise, violence is never to be attempted; neither is iniquity, fraud, or falsehood, (evil and hurtful courses) either against private men, or the public state, to be warranted by this example. To it he goes, and robs Lambert of what he durst not give him: he enticeth his servants, whose hearts did serve them to serve him in that hazard, whom their lord durst not command to go with him: he takes also some gold from him, and provides himself a horse and armour, and that all might seem to be done by the strong hand; and violence might plead for the bishop at King Edward's hands, he beats the rest of the servants that were left behind, and so goes away with the prey; an honourable robber, and just spoiler! He meets Robert Bruce at Arickstone in the head of Annandale. If he were

welcome or not, I leave it to the consideration of the reader he was received as his cousin, and used as a companion, and continued as a faithful friend and loyal subject, so long as their days continued, without variance, emulation, or jealousy, or grudge on either side. A happy king by such a servant! A happy servant by such a prince! A happy country by such a society and pair of worthy friends! So it is where virtues encounter, begetting mutual affection, and produce notable effects. The Bishop of Ross, John Leslie, says, that he carried this money to Bruce from the Archbishop, and makes no mention of any force, whose commendation of this James is not amiss to be here inserted. “At this time one James “Douglas, a youth of high spirit, and ready to undergo “whatsoever peril, considering with himself how Robert “Bruce (a man adorned with all virtues) was vexed with “the unjust arms of the English, and pursued with war against all equity, obtained of the Bishop of St. Andrews “(in whose company he was) a great sum of money, to uphold the now declining cause of Robert; which money he “carried to him with all diligence, and ever after aided him “him in his wars valiantly: in peace he was free and upright, “pleasant in prosperity, and faithful in adversity, during all “the days of his life. From this James the noble family of “the Douglasses is counted to have taken the beginning of “greatness.”

Their efforts at first were of exceeding hard success. Robert Bruce was crowned at Scone in the year 1306, in April, at which Sir James assisted, casting into a heap, as others did, a quantity of earth of his lands of Douglas, which making a little hill, it is called yet *Omnis terra*. This was the custom of those times, by which homage they that held the king of Scotland supreme under God, were distinguished from others. Some months after the coronation, about the 19th of June, they were defeated in a conflict at Methven by Odamarre de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, but without any great loss of men; for they being few in number, and perceiving their inequality, fled betimes, while their men were

yet in breath and unwearied, having adventured so far rather to try their fortune, what it was like to prove in their main intentions, than in hope of victory, where there was so great odds every way. There were taken at this battle Sir Thomas Randolph a young stripling, Sir Alexander Fraser, Sir David Barclay, Insh Martin, Hugh de la Hay, or Hugh Hay, Somervale, and some others, whom Sir Aimer Valence caused to promise fealty to the king of England, and on that condition saved their lives; especially Randolph, who is remarked after this to have been very forward for the king of England, till he was taken again by Sir James Douglas, as we shall hear hereafter. After this battle they retired to the castle of Kildrummie, where the queen and divers other ladies remained in great scarcity of victuals, being sustained most part by what Sir James Douglas took by hunting and fishing. Not long after, as they went by Athole to Argyle, Athole having intelligence of them, invaded them, together with Lorne, his sister's son, and constrained them to fight at a place called Dalree, (which is to say, the King's Field) about the 12th of August; their fortune was no better than it had been before, the day was lost, some but not many of their men slain, they themselves put to flight and fain to save their lives, by lurking amongst the hills for a season in a most desert place, living upon roots and herbs, and lying in the open fields on the bare ground, or among the heath, sometimes but with one, other times with none to attend them, being uncertain whom to trust, in that frowning of fortune, when commonly there are but few that remain friends, and many become enemies; base minds seeking thereby either to avoid harm, or to gain favour of the stronger. At last finding that they were hotly hunted after, and followed hard, they thought it their safest way to go to the western isles. Lochlomond lay in their way, whither being come, and having found an old boat, Sir James (however expert in that art before) having learned so much by that great schoolmaster necessity, rowed his king over this lake in a night and half a day. Thus saith the manuscript, but it seemeth rather to have been some

other lake than Lochlomond, or rather some inlet of the sea (which are called sometimes lakes) between the main land and the isle in which they lurked; because Lochlomond is of no such breadth, as that it should be esteemed a great matter to row over it in that space; and besides they did row to an isle where they did rest amongst our Æbudes, to none of which Lochlomond is adjacent. The Bruce's book saith not, that they rowed through the lake to the isle, but through the lake to the next land, and then passed to the sea-side, where they provided boats in which they sailed to the isles. It attributes also this rowing to others than Sir James, though he were the first finder of the old boat.

Thus it went with them, and to such an exigence was the hope of our country brought. Thus we see these great minds, and afterwards great men, in a base, poor, and perilous, but never miserable estate, (which virtue is not capable of) desolate in itself, destitute of friends, and their first attempts dashed by the mean under-captains of their great enemy King Edward. But before they have done, they shall make his successor to fly in the like sort in a small fisher-boat, poorly accompanied, to save his own person, after the loss of his army. On such moments do the hopes and fears of mortal men depend, and such vicissitude is the estate of those glorious crowns subject unto, which men do so much affect with such travel and turmoil: as for them, it was not the crown only, but their liberty also that they suffered for; and not their own liberty alone, but the freedom of their country and patriots, which they sought to maintain against injustice, fraud, and violence. Wherefore we never hear that they fainted at any time, or despaired at any time in the midst of despair: such force hath a good cause in a good heart, the Author of goodness no doubt sitting at the rudder of that boat, and preserving the old boards of it, so that they gave no place to the violence of the waves, and their hearts from yielding to that despair that every way did assault them, until he had finished that work he had to do with them; for recovering the liberty of their country, and

beating down the pride of tyranny, that he might in all this show his own might and prerogative, in casting down and setting up at his pleasure. Such hard beginnings have oftentimes the greatest works, and so little ought either hope or despair be grounded on the first success.

Being landed on this little isle, which the Bruce's book calls Rachrine, (other authors name it not) they remained a while hidden there with a special friend of King Robert's; both the isle and the man being worthy of more express honour, and a perpetual memory of their names: he for his faithful friendship, the isle for its safe receipt, and harbouring so good guests, and their good luck after this receipt, their efforts from hence-forward having been almost ever prosperous. Their safety was; (most part) in this, that men believed they were not safe; ceasing to seek those whom, they thought, had ceased to be, supposing them to have perished, because they appeared no where to the view, of the world. Like example is long since recorded of Massinassa, King of Numidia; and their lurking doth bring forth the same fruit and effects.

But it was not fit for them to lurk too long: their friends might have been so discouraged, and losing hope, have forsaken the cause; whereby the work would have been the more difficult, if not impossible. Therefore to begin again afresh, the king obtains from his good friend some small company of men; and Sir James with forty of these (which he got of the king) went and took the castle of Arran by a stratagem. A small, but happy flourishing of a better spring-time, after that their tempestuous winter, which shall yield a full harvest, and bring forth the ripe fruit of liberty to their country, and the settling of the kingdom to his master, and his posterity, until these our days, and we hope for ever. Thither came the king also within two days, and hearing of them, Malcolm Earl of Lennox. These sailed from thence into Carrick, where they took a castle of the king's proper inheritance; but the writers do not name it.

And here indeed the course of the king's misfortunes be-

gins to make some halt and stay, by thus much prosperous success in his own person; but more in the person of Sir James, by the reconquests of his own castles and countries: From hence he went into Douglasdale, where by the means of his father's old servant, Thomas Dickson, he took the castle of Douglas, and not being able to keep it, he caused burn it; contenting himself with this, that his enemies had one strength less in that country than before. The manner of his taking of it is said to have been thus: Sir James taking only with him two of his servants, went to Thomas Dickson, of whom he was received with tears, after he had revealed himself to him; for the good old man knew him not at first, being in mean and homely apparel. There he kept him secretly in a quiet chamber, and brought unto him such as had been trusty servants to his father, not all at once, but apart and by one and one, for fear of discovery. Their advice was, that on Palm-sunday, when the English would come forth to the church, being a solemn holiday, he with his two servants should come thither apparelled like country taskers, with mantles to cover their armour, and when he should perceive that the English were in the church, and his partners were convened, that then he should give the word and cry the *Douglas slogan*, and presently set upon them: that should happen to be there, who being dispatched, the castle might be easily taken. This being concluded, and they come, as soon as the English were entered into the church with palms in their hands, (according to the custom of that day) little suspecting or fearing any such thing; Sir James, according to their appointment, cried too soon, a Douglas! a Douglas! which being heard in the church, (this was St. Bride's church of Douglas) Thomas Dickson, supposing he had been hard at hand, drew out his sword and ran upon them, having none to second him but another man; so that, oppressed with the multitude of his enemies, he was beaten down and slain. In the mean time Sir James being come, the English that were in the chancel kept off the Scotch, and having the advantage of the strait and narrow

entry, defended themselves manfully. † But Sir James encouraging his men, not so much by words as by deeds and good example, and having slain the boldest resisters, prevailed at last, and entering the place, slew some twenty-six of their number, and took the rest, about ten or twelve persons, intending by them to get the castle by composition, or to enter with them when the gates should be opened to let them in: but it needed not, for they of the castle were so secure, that there was none left to keep it save the porter and the cook, who knowing nothing of what had happened at the church, which stood a full quarter of a mile from thence, had left the gate wide open, the porter standing without, and the cook dressing the dinner within; they entered without resistance, and meat being ready, and the cloth laid, they shut the gates, and took their refreshment at good leisure.

Now that he had got the castle into his hands, considering with himself (as he was a man no less prudent then valiant) that it was hard for him to keep it, the English being as yet the stronger in that country, who if they should besiege him, he knew of no relief; he thought it better to take away such things as could be most easily carried, gold, silver, and apparel, with ammunition and armour, whereof he had the greatest use and need, and to destroy the rest of the provision, together with the castle itself, than to diminish the number of his followers, for a garrison there where they could do good: and so he caused carry the meal and malt, and other corns and grain, into the cellar, and laid all together in one heap; then he took the prisoners and slew them, to revenge the death of his trusty and valiant servant Thomas Dickson, mingling the victuals with their blood, and burying their carcases in the heap of corn: after that he struck out the heads of the barrels and puncheons, and let the drink run through all, and then he cast the carcases of dead horses and other carrion amongst it, throwing the salt above all, so as to make altogether unuseful to the enemy; and this cellar is called yet the *Douglas Larder*. Last of all, he set the house on fire, and burnt all the timber and what else the

fire could overcome, leaving nothing but the scorched walls behind him. As this seems to be the first taking of the castle of Douglas, for it is supposed that he took it twice. For this service and others done to Lord William his father, Sir James gave unto Thomas Dickson the lands of Hisleside, which hath been given him before the castle was taken, as an encouragement to whet him on, and not after; for he was slain in the church: which was both liberally and wisely done of him thus to hearten and draw men to his service by such a noble beginning. The castle being burnt, Sir James retired, and parting his men into divers companies, so as they might be most secret, he caused cure such as were wounded in the fight, and he himself kept as close as he could, waiting ever for an occasion to enterprize something against the enemy. So soon as he was gone, the Lord Clifford being advertised of what had happened, came himself in person to Douglas, and caused re-edify and repair the castle in a very short time, unto which he also added a tower, which is yet called Harry's Tower, from him, and so returned into England, leaving one Thruswall to be captain thereof.

Sir James' men being cured of their wounds, and refreshed with rest, he returned again to the king, at what time he was ready to fight with Sir Aimer Valence, the Lord of Lorn, and Sir Thomas Randolph, at Cumnock. The king had not above 400 men; so that being almost encompassed by the enemy before he was aware, he was forced to forsake the field, having lost his banner, which was taken by Sir Thomas Randolph, by which he got great credit with King Edward. King Robert in his flight or retreat divided his men into three companies, that went several ways, so that the enemy being uncertain in what company he himself were, and not knowing which to pursue first, he might the better escape. When they were all come again to their place of rendezvous, which the king had appointed when he divided them, Sir James Douglas persuaded the king to set upon a company of the enemies, who were very securely lying by themselves far from the body of the army, without fear of any danger:

which the king did; and having slain 200 of them, he scattered the rest.

After this, Sir Aimer Valence (being then warden for King Edward in Scotland, and residing himself at Bothwell) sent Sir Philip Moubray, with a company of men about 100, into Kyle and Cunningham, to keep the inhabitants in their obedience to England; whereof when Sir James Douglas had notice, and knowing the way by which they must go (called Machanack's Way) he lay in a strait ford between two marshes, called Ederford, accompanied with some 40 choice men, and there rising up of a sudden before Sir Philip was aware, they routed his men, and chased himself, who did escape very narrowly, for he left his sword with them, and fled alone to Kilmarnock and Kilwinning, the rest back to Bothwell. This was before the battle of Lowdounhill, where both the king and Sir James were present, at which they defeated Sir Aimer Valence and 3000 men, they having only 500; which Sir Aimer took so to heart, that he retired himself into England, where he gave over his charge of warden, and never returned into Scotland again with any command, except it were when the king came in person. The English Chronicle says, that the king discharged Sir Aimer who was Earl of Pembroke, and placed John de Britton in his office, and made him Earl of Richmond. These particulars I cannot guess why they should have been omitted by our writers, being so remarkable defeats, where diligence, dexterity and valour have been used with wisdom and judgement. However, upon this withdrawing and departure of Sir Aimer Valence, King Robert being rid of the greatest danger, makes towards Inverness, leaving Sir James behind him, to recover such places as were still in the enemy's hands. He therefore getting him into Douglasdale, did use this stratagem against Thruswall captain of the castle of Douglas, under the Lord Clifford: he caused some of his folks drive away the cattle that fed near unto the castle; and when the captain of the garrison followed to rescue, gave order to his men to leave them, and to fly away. This he did often, to make

the captain to slight such frays, and to make him secure, that he might not suspect any further design to be in it: which when he had wrought sufficiently, as he thought, he laid some men in ambuscade, and sent others away to drive away such beasts as they should find in the view of the castle, as if they had been thieves and robbers, as they had done often before. The captain hearing of it, and supposing there was no greater danger now than had been before, issued forth from the castle, and followed after them with such haste, that his men (running who should be first) were disordered and out of their ranks, the drivers also fled as fast as they could, till they had drawn the captain a little beyond the place of the ambuscade, which when they perceived, rising quickly out of their covert, set fiercely upon him and his company, and so slew himself, and chased his men back to the castle; some of which were overtaken and slain, others got into the castle, and so were saved: Sir James not being able to force the house, took what booty he could get without in the fields, and so departed. By this means, and such other exploits, he so affrighted the enemy, that it was counted a matter of great jeopardy to keep this castle, which began to be called the adventurous or hazardous castle of Douglas; whereupon Sir John Walton being in suit of an English lady, she wrote to him that when he had kept the adventurous castle of Douglas seven years, then he might think himself worthy to be a suitor to her: upon this occasion Walton took upon him the keeping of it, and succeeded to Thruswall; but he ran the same fortune with the rest that were before him.

For Sir James, having first dressed an ambuscade near the place, he made fourteen of his men take so many sacks and fill them with grass, as though it had been corn, which they carried in the way toward Lanark, the chief market town in that county; so hoping to draw forth the captain by that bait, and either to take him or the castle, or both.

Neither was this expectation frustrated, for the captain did bite, and came forth to have taken this victual, as he supposed: but before he could reach these carriers, Sir James with

his company had got between the castle and him; and these disguised carriers, seeing the captain following after them, did quickly cast off their upper garments, wherein they had masked themselves, and throwing off their sacks mounted themselves on horseback, and met the captain with a sharp encounter, being so much the more amazed, as it was unlooked for: wherefore when he saw these carriers metamorphosed into warriors, and ready to assault him, fearing that which was, that there was some train laid for them, he turned about to have retired to the castle, but there also he met with his enemies; between which two companies he and his whole followers were slain, so that none escaped: the captain afterwards being searched, they found (as it is reported) his mistress' letter about him. Then he went and took the castle, but it is uncertain (say our authors) whether by force or composition. But it seems that the constable and those that were within had yielded it up without force, in regard that he used them so gently; which he would not have done, if he had taken it by violence: for he sent them all safe home to the Lord Clifford, and gave them also provision and money for their entertainment by the way. The castle which he had burned only before, now he razeth, and casts down the walls thereof to the ground. By these and the like proceedings, within a short while, he freed Douglasdale, Etrick-forest, and Jedburgh-forest of the English garrisons and subjection.

But Thomas Randolph, Alexander Stuart Lord of Bonkle, and Adam Gordon, being Englished Scots, concluded to gather together their forces, and to expulse him out of these parts: now it fell so out, that Sir James, intending to lodge at a certain house upon the water of Line, and being come hither for that purpose, by chance all these three were lodged in the same house before he came, which drew on a skirmish betwixt them, in which Alexander Stuart Lord of Bonkle and Thomas Randolph were taken prisoners, and Adam Gordon saved himself by flight. This piece of service was of no small importance, in regard of the good service done to the king by Thomas Randolph, both while the king lived, and

after his death, when he was regent; which may all be ascribed to Sir James, who conquered Randolph to the king's side. With these his prisoners, he went into the north, as far as the Mearns, where he met the king returning from Inverness, of whom he was heartily welcomed, both for his own sake, and because he had brought with him his nephew Randolph, whom the king did chide exceedingly. And he again reproved the king, out of his youthfulness and rash humour, as though he did defend the crown by flying, and not by fighting: wherefore he was committed to prison, thereafter pardoned; and being made Earl of Murray, he was employed in the king's service. This is related in the Bruce's book, and hath nothing fabulous or improbable in it; and therefore it ought not to be slighted: especially seeing, as I am informed, the book was penned by a man of good knowledge and learning, named Mr. John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen; for which work he had a yearly pension out of the exchequer during his life, which he gave to the hospital of that town, to which it is allowed and paid still in our days. He lived in the reign of David, the second son and successor to King Robert Bruce.

Sir James was with the king at Inverourie, ten miles from Aberdeen, against John Cuming Earl of Buchan, who was there defeated on Ascension-day, in the year 1308. From thence Sir James went with him when he recovered Argyle; the lord whereof had once come into the king, but was now revolted to the English side. And likewise at many more journeys and roads both in Scotland and England, Sir James did always accompany him.

In the year 1313 he took the castle of Roxburgh, called then Marchmont; whilst the king was busy about Dumfries, Lanark, Ayr, and other places, and while Sir Thomas Randolph was lying at the castle of Edinburgh. The manner of his taking it was thus. About Shrovetide, which is a time of feasting and revelling, he with sixty more, having covered their armour with black, that they might not be discovered by the glittering thereof, went in the forenight to-

ward the castle, and when they came near to it, they lay along and crept upon their hands and feet through a bushy piece of ground, till they were come close to the foot of the wall. Those that did watch upon the castle-wall espied them; but the night being dark, and by reason of their creeping they took them to have been cattle: for they at the foot of the wall heard the watchmen, (there being two of them) saying the one to the other, My neighbour such a one, naming him by his name, means to make good chear to-night, that he hath no care of his cattle, but leaves them thus in the fields all the night: to whom the other replied, He may make good chear this night, but if the Douglas come at them, he will fare the worse hereafter: and with this discourse they went their way. Sir James and his men having heard this conference, were very well pleased withal, and glad to be so mistaken: they laddered the walls with ladders of cords, made by one Simon of the Leadhouse, who was also the first that adventured to scale with them himself alone, both to try how they would hold unbroken, and to view what guard and watch was kept above. The man that stood centinel saw him well enough; but because there were no more with him, he gave no alarm, but stood watching to have caught him on the top of the ladder, thinking to have knocked him down, or to have tumbled him headlong over the wall; but the other prevented the danger, and leaping in nimbly upon him before he was aware, stabbed him with a knife, and threw him over the wall amongst his fellows, to whom he called to make haste up, assuring them the coast was clear: but before they could come up, another of the watch coming about, and perceiving a man on the wall, made towards him; but Simon dispatched him also. And now the rest of his companions were got up also, who marching towards the hall, they found the English at their shroving, eating and drinking, piping and dancing. They entered the hall, he had but easy work of it, to do with them what he listed, being most of them drunk, and all of them unarmed; only the captain Guiliuam de Fermes fled into the great tower, being dangerously hurt

with the shot of an arrow, where he remained safe all that night; but the next morning he yielded himself because of his wound, upon condition that his life should be safe, and his person safely set on English ground; which was willingly granted, and faithfully performed. But he lived not long after, his wound being deadly and incurable.

Thus was the wheel of worldly affairs which men call fortune, so whirled about by the king and his partners, that in the year 1313, being the seventh from his coronation, and the fifth or sixth from the beginning of the course of his victories, there was not one strength remaining in the possession or power of the English, save Dumbarton castle, (which was afterwards yielded up by John Monteith upon composition) and Stirling, which at that present time was besieged by Edward Bruce the king's brother. To relieve Stirling, and to raise the siege thereof, king Edward II. came in proper person, and thereon ensued the battle of Bannockburn, a battle so famous and memorable, as few the like have happened in any age, where there were two kings present, the odds so great, and the defeat so notable. The English king did bring into the field all that he was able to make, not only of English, but of his foreign dominions; neither of those that were his own subjects only, but he was also aided and assisted by his friends and confederates, in Flanders, Holland, Zealand, Brabant, Picardy, Gascony, Normandy, Guiennie, Bullonois and Bourdeaux: of these, and his own countrymen, he had in all 150,000 fighting men; to place them in the middle number, which some say was but half the number, and that he had 300,000 of the whole, in equal proportion of foot and horse, intending to have exterminated the whole nation of Scots, with so confident a presumption of victory, that he brought with him a Carmelite friar (a poet according to the time) to commit his triumphs to writing: he was defeated by 30,000 or 35,000 at the most, as all agree; and that in a plain and open field, where there were slain of his men 50,000. It was fought the 22d of June, 1314.

Sir James being present at this battle, did carry himself so

before the fight, in the fight, and after it, as that his behaviour is not slightly slipped over with a dry foot, as we say, but particularly to be noted, both for his own honour (for it is indeed worthy of perpetual honour and praise) and for a pattern to be followed by others, especially by all such as set their hearts and minds to follow virtue, and to seek true glory which ariseth from virtue. Before the battle we have his kindness, love, and care of his friend, or, as some will have it, his emulous competitor, joined with true magnanimity in his demeanour towards Thomas Randolph: for King Robert having sent Randolph with 500 horse to oppose the Lord Clifford with 800, who was making towards the castle of Stirling; Sir James, careful of his friend in respect of this odds in number; first very orderly sought leave of the king to go to his succour; but after the king had refused him, he went out without leave; which, though it were a kind of breach of military discipline, yet it shows how dearly he loved the man, that for his sake he would thus transgress the order of the war, and to take his hazard of the king's displeasure, rather than to forsake him in this great danger as he took it to be. And as he showed his love and kindness in this (a virtue of great price, and greatly to be commended) so did he also his modesty, courtesy and magnanimity, all three concurring in one fact, and much more commendable, in that he, seeing his friend to have the better of the enemy, stood aloof as a spectator, for fear to impair his glory in that victory, by being a sharer with him therein. Weak minds seek to participate of other men's glory, and for want of worth in themselves, thrust in with others. Base and mean spirits are wont to lessen and diminish the actions of others, because they have no hope to equal them. Malignant dispositions envy them, and approve of nothing but what is their own, and would have it thought that they only are able to do all things, and that none besides them can do any thing. As these vices were far from this man, so should they be as far from all others; and as the contrary virtues did shine in him, so let

them also do in us. And thus he behaved himself before the battle.

In the battle he, with Randolph, had the leading of the vanguard, wherein he discharged himself so well, that for his good service he was knighted in the field. This honour in those days was given for desert, and was a badge and seal of valour, not of favour or riches, as now it is for the most part: neither was it so ordinary or common as now it is, and by commonness prostituted as it were and disesteemed. But that it was in great esteem of old it appears by this, that notwithstanding this man's predecessors, and himself also, as his evidences do witness, were barons and lords, yet he thinks it no disparagement to be knighted, and did choose rather to be known and designed by that title than the other; so as he was commonly called Sir James Douglas, rather than Lord Douglas. And indeed we have found that even princes and kings have taken upon them this order, not as any diminution of their place, but an addition of honour, seeing by it they were received into the number and rank of military men and warriors, their other title shewing more their dominion and power, or place, than their valour and courage. Wherefore we read how Edward Prince of Wales was knighted when he was sent against King Bruce; so Henry II. being then prince of England, received the honour of knighthood from David King of Scotland, his grand-uncle, as from one that was the worthiest man in his time. Then it was that he took his oath, that he should never take from the crown of Scotland the counties of Northumberland, Westmoreland, Cumberland and Huntingdon. This ceremony was performed with great solemnity and pomp in those days, as our writers observe: so honourable was it then; and of late it was thought so too; for the Earl of Clanrikart, chief of the Bourks in Ireland, having done a piece of notable service to Queen Elizabeth at the siege of Kinsale, and at an encounter between the lord deputy's army with the Irish rebels, was knighted by the Lord Montjoy, then general lieutenant for the queen; neither should any abuse discredit it now. Nor can it diminish

the honourableness thereof in our Sir James, who is able to honour it rather by his worth.

After the battle he is as diligent, as he was both diligent and valorous in it. This is a virtue which hath been wanting in great commanders, and hath been marked as a great defect in them. It was told Hannibal, that great Carthaginian, to his face, thou canst obtain, but not use a victory, nor prosecute it to thy best advantage. Sir James did not so, but as far as he was able, with such companions as he could gather together, and with as much speed as was possible for him, he followed King Edward to have done him service, though his father Edward I. would have none of it, and set it at nought. But he was gone before Sir James' service came to the best: now he would gladly have shown what it was worth to his son and successor, the second Edward, in most humble sort, though it had been to have pulled off his boots, no question, but his majesty had no mind to stay for him, who notwithstanding made all the haste he could to have overtaken him, and followed him with four hundred horse, more than forty miles from Bannockburn, to Dunbar castle, into which he was received, and so escaped. The next was to wait upon him in his way to Berwick, which he did: but the king nothing well pleased with the service he had done, and expecting rather worse than better, seeing his importunity, and that otherwise he could not be rid of him, went by sea to Berwick in a small fisher-boat or two, with a very thin train to attend him; not unlike unto Xerxes, who a little before was so proud of his huge army, is now become the scorn of his contemned and threatened enemies, a spectacle of pride, and an example of presumptuous confidence unto all ages. We told before how his father had driven King Robert and Sir James to the like shifts and straits: but theirs was not so shameful. A Christmas feast may be quit at Easter, says our proverb, which they do here verify by this requital, and this was all the service Sir James could do to King Edward at this time: but afterwards we shall hear what service he shall do, if not to him-

self, yet to his son Edward III. at Stanhope Park, some few years after this.

In the mean time, let us behold our Scots, enjoying their renowned and honourable victory, which cannot be denied to have been such, nor cannot be by envy itself. Their spoil and prey was very great and rich, their prisoners many, and their ransoms proportionable. The Queen (King Robert's wife) was restored by exchange, and for her an English nobleman set free without ransom: and as their joy was great, and their gaining not small, so was both the grief of the English, their shame and their losses. There were slain of note in the field two hundred knights, together with the Earl of Gloucester, and Sir Giles of Argentine, whose death was lamented by King Robert very much, and of prisoners very near as many, of which the chief were the Earl of Hartford, who fled to Bothwell, and was received by Sir Gilbert Gilbaston captain thereof, as the Bruce's book says, Sir John Segrave, John Clattengrave (perhaps Cattengrave) William Latimer, Sir Robert Northbrook, lord keeper of the broad seal, and Sir Ralph Mortimer, who had married the king's sister, Mortimer was demitted ransom free, and obtained the king's broad seal at Bruce's hands. These and many other prisoners of divers nations thus dismissed, are as many witnesses of the Scottish valour in the fight, and of their mildness and humanity after it, who used these their so spiteful enemies no worse, who, if they had overcome, would have used another kind of cruelty, as they had both determined and threatened unto them.

Amongst other foreigners, there were two Holland knights, who being in King Edward's army before the battle, and hearing the bravery and brags of the English, and their spiteful railings against King Robert, had wished him good luck. These were turned out of the English camp, and sent unto the Scottish, bidden in scorn to go and fight with them whom they wished so well, with a price set upon their heads to him that should either kill or take them prisoners in the battle. Their heads nevertheless were safe, and themselves did partake of the good fortune they had wished; and when they

came home into their own country, they built a lodging, naming it *Scotland*, upon which they set up the Scottish arms, and King Robert's statue in Antwerp, as a monument of that notable victory; which remained there many years after. The Carmelite also changed his note, singing their victory, whose overthrow he came to set forth, and chaunting their discomfiture, whose praises he was hired to proclaim. Thus he began this ditty.

With barren verse this mournful rhyme I make,
And am but laught at, while such theme I take.

Let us here consider the means and ways of both sides, we shall find on the one side confidence of their power, and a contempt and slighting of the enemy, which seldom falls well, because from thence there ariseth commonly sloth, negligence, disorder, and confusion: on the other side, we may see carefulness, diligence, order, and exhortation; all possible means used, both human and divine; wisdom joined with religion and prayer, and what pious forms were then in use. They digged trenches and ditches, which they covered with green turf, for the horsemen to fall into, and did knit together and twist as it were a net of cross ropes to entangle the footmen: which stratagems being seconded with true courage, resolution, and valour of the common soldiers and commanders, together with the device of those that were set to keep the baggage, the scullions and groomes, who made shews and musters, as if they had been another army, of their own head, without the direction of any, were the chief means of the victory: for the first was the overthrow of the men at arms, and barbed horses, and the second the bane of the middle battle of the English, who seeing this trap laid for them, fled presently, and turned their backs. But above all these, the principal and prime cause was even the Lord of Hosts, who guided all these, and gave success unto them. Let no mortal man ever think otherwise of any of his enterprises, or that any man, however wise, provident, or valorous, can use his wisdom, provi-

dence, or valour, or whatever other virtue he hath, to any purpose, or successfully, unless it be given him in the very instant of using it. A lesson much inculcated, but little learned; often approved by experience, but seldom marked, or soon forgotten; at least little appearing by our practice; and which doth produce no other effect but a superficial acknowledgement, and slender confession thereof.

But to return to our Douglas: though the king himself did thus escape his service, yet out of all doubt he hath been employed against his subjects, seeing our historians do tell us, that after this battle there were divers incursions made into England, for which they never stirred, but sat quiet for two or three years: however there are no particulars set down.

In the year 1316, King Robert Bruce went into Ireland; to support his brother Edward Bruce, made king of Ireland, and King Edward of England, thinking this a fit opportunity for him to be revenged on the Scots, did levy a great army, and came to the borders of Scotland, hoping to do some notable exploit now in the king's absence. But many things fail that are intended; and princes as well as others may be disappointed of the purposes, and their hopes frustrated. It seems he had forgotten, or not well considered what a lieutenant he had left behind him, and how good a second Sir James had always been to his master the king. But however he knew it not perhaps, or would not take any notice of him; yet King Robert knew it full well, and put such trust and confidence in his well known worth and sufficiency, that he durst go abroad out of his own kingdom, and hazard himself and the flower of his army in Ireland, trusting the country unto his care and conduct, leaving him governor in his absence; and entailing the crown unto him, next unto Thomas Randolph, by making him protector of the young king during his minority, if he himself should happen to die in that voyage, as the black book of Scoon doth witness. And indeed Sir James did not deceive the king's expectation and trust; neither did King Edward find him asleep, but watchful and diligent in his charge, as became a good governor: for he raised an

army to give him battle, and put both him and his people to flight, slew three notable captains with his own hand, Sir Edward Lillo a Gascon, captain of Berwick; others call him Callock, and say that he was slain at the rescue of a booty which he had taken in the Merse and Teviotdale; which narration agreeth with the Bruce's book, which calls him Edmond de Callock. The second was Sir Robert Nevil, and the third a nobleman whom they do not name, only they say that Sir James slew him with his own hand: but the Bruce's book calls him John de Richmond, and says he slew him in Jedburgh Forest, in the midst of his army, Sir James having very few with him, not above fifty horse, and some archers, in a strait cleugh or valley, between two hills, which he had of purpose taken as a place of advantage; and tying together the young birch trees by their boughs, in the way by which the English were to pass, the horsemen being entangled in the thickets, he set upon them and defeated them. From hence it is that some think the Earls of Douglas and Angus have stakes and rice in their coats of arms; yet such points of heraldry are hard to interpret and give a reason for them. This was the second piece of service that he did to King Edward himself, say some others; but others say that the king was not there in person, but sent a great army, commanded by divers captains, with whom Sir James fought in three several battles, at three sundry times, and slew all their chieftains, with most part of their companies. Others again affirm, that in every one of those battles he slew the commander with his own hand, in sight of both armies, the which, whatsoever way it was, the victory was notable and glorious. And thus did he govern in the king's absence.

He had been a good subject before, when the king was present, now we see how well he governs when he is absent, and at his return laying down his authority, and returning to his former subjection, he proves as good a companion and colleague unto Thomas Randolph, (then made Earl of Murray) with whom the king did join him for the prosecuting of the wars. It is seldom found that these virtues are so happily

linked together in one person, ability to govern, and willingness to be subordinate and obey; excellency of parts, and patient enduring of an equal and companion. I have often observed and admired it in these two, the ground whereof seems chiefly to have been in Sir James his love and modesty, as we observe in his carriage towards this man at Bannockburn, that in all their joint services, being equal in authority, and both commanding in chief, we never hear of any question, controversy, or debate, of any grudging or heart-burning between them, but find them ever agree and concur, without any dissension or variance, with one heart and mind, as if they had been one man in all business whatsoever.

Their first association, after the king's return out of Ireland, was when they went and burnt Northallerton and Burrowbridge, and spoiled Rippon, where they spared the church, only they caused those that fled thither to pay 5000 merks sterling to be free. They burnt also Scarborough town, and hearing that the people had fled into the woods with their goods and cattle, they went and searched them out, and brought away a great booty. Then returning home by Skipton in Craven, they spoiled the town, and after burnt it without resistance. This was in the year 1318, in May.

The next was in the year following, 1319, when king Edward, having gathered an army, lay before Berwick. These two entered England as far as Milton, which is within twelve miles of York, where the Archbishop of York, and the Bishop of Ely, chancellor, made head against them; in which conflict there were 4000 English slain, amongst whom was the Mayor of York, and a thousand drowned in the water of Swail; and if the night had not come in too soon, the battle being joined in the afternoon, few or none of them had escaped, as it is thought. It is called the battle of Milton or Swail, or the white battle, because there were a number of priests slain at it; probably they have been apparelled in their surplices.

Hollinshed in his Chronicle of England relateth the manner how it was done: he says, that as the Englishmen passed over the water of Swail, the Scots set fire upon certain stacks of

hay, the smoke whereof was so huge, that the English might not see where the Scots lay. And when the English were once got over the water, the Scots came upon them with a wing in good order of battle, in fashion like to a shield, eagerly assailing their enemies, who were easily beaten down and discomfited. Many were drowned, by reason that the Scots had got betwixt the English and the bridge; so that the English fled betwixt that wing of the Scots, and the main battle, which had compassed about the English on the one side, as the wing did upon the other. The king of England informed of this overthrow, broke up his siege immediately, and returned to York, and the Scots home into their own country.

Their third expedition was that same year at Hallowtide, when the northern borders of England had gotten in their corn, and their barns were well stuffed with grain, which was their provision for the whole year. They entered England, and burnt Gilsland, took divers prisoners, and drave away all the cattle they could find. Then they went to Brough under Stanmore, and returned by Westmoreland and Cumberland, with great booty and spoil, none offering to make head against them.

The fourth was in the year 1322, when the king of England, grieved with these invasions, having complained to the Pope, had purchased a legate to be sent into Scotland, to admonish King Robert to desist from further disquieting the realm of England; and because he would not obey, he, with Sir James Douglas and Thomas Randolph, were accursed by the two cardinals, the Archbishop of Canterbury and York, and all the priests in England every day thrice at mass. These two, Sir James Douglas and Randolph (some say the king himself) following the legate at the heels, as it were, entered England, little regarding their cursings, and wasted the country to the Redcross, and coming to Darlington at the feast of Epiphany, staid there a while for gathering of booty, and destroying the country; the Lord Douglas on the one hand, and the Lord Stewart of Scotland on the other; the one going to-

wards Hartelpool and Caveland, and the other towards Richmond. The inhabitants of Richmondshire, having no captains to defend them, gave a great sum of money (as at other times they had done) to have their country saved from fire and spoil. These adventurers staid fifeteen days in England, and returned without battle. It is said that the knights of the north came to the duke of Lancaster, then lying at Pomfret, and offered to go into the field with him against the Scots, but he refused; whether by reason of the discord between him and King Edward, or for some other occasion, I know not.

At this time it is, that the king gives to Sir James Douglas a bounden charter of Douglasdale, dated *apud Bervicum super tuedam, anno regni nostri decimo quinto*, which is either the year 1320 or 1322, the first of April. It bears, *Jacobo de Douglas, filio et hæredi Gulielmi Douglas militis*, which decides the question of his age, and his brother Hugh's, who outlived Sir James twelve or thirteen years, and calls himself his heir, as shall be shown. It hath also this clause, *Volumus insuper, &c.* We will also, and grant, for us and our heirs, that the said James and his heirs shall have the said lands free, *ab omnibus prisiis, & petitionibus quibuscunque ita quod nullus ministrorum nostrorum in aliquo se intromittat infra dictas divisas: nisi tantum de articulis specialiter ad coronam nostram pertinentibus.*

To return, King Edward conceived such discontent, and was so grieved at this so wasting of his kingdom, that he gave orders to levy an army of 100,000, to enter Scotland at Lammas, whereof King Robert being advertised, entered England near to Carlisle, and burnt some towns which belonged to King Edward's own inheritance; spoiled the monastery of Holm, where his father's corps was interred. Hither the Earl of Murray and Sir James Douglas came to him with another army; whereupon marching further southward, they came to Preston in Anderness, and burnt all that town also, except the college of the Minorites. This was fourscore miles within England from the borders of Scotland; then they returned with their prisoners and booty to Carlisle,

where they staid fourteen days, wasting and destroying all about with fire and sword; and so they returned into Scotland on St. James's day, having remained within England three weeks and three days, without any opposition or resistance. They were not long at home when King Edward entered into Scotland with his army, and passed to Edinburgh, but, for want of victuals, (which were conveyed out of the way of purpose by King Robert's command and direction) he was forced to make a retreat, and go home the way he came, having discharged his anger on what he could meet with in his return. But he was quickly followed by the two colleagues, Sir James and Randolph, who entered England, burnt Northallerton with other towns and villages as far as York; and overtaking the king at the Abbey of Biland, gave him battle, and defeated him. There was taken John Britton Earl of Richmond, who had also the Earldom of Lancaster; he being ransomed for a great sum of money, passed over into France, where he remained, and never came back again into England. The English Chronicle, to excuse this defeat, lays the blame hereof upon Andrew Harcla Earl of Carlisle, whom they say Sir James Douglas corrupted with money; upon which pretext Harcla was executed, suffering, good gentleman, to cover other men's faults. It doth me good to hear Mr. John Major answer the English writers in his round and substantial manner: it is but a dream, saith he, and spoken without all likelihood; for neither were the Scots ever so flush and well stored with money as to corrupt the English; neither was that the custom of good Sir James Douglas, a valiant warrior, who did what he did, not with gold, but with sharp steel. The Earl of Carlisle also died without confessing any such thing. Some write that King Robert was there in person; but it is more likely that he was not, but sent these two, of whom we have spoken: however, if he was there, these two were with him. At this battle Sir James took three French knights, Robert Bartrame, William Bartarhome, Elye Anyallage, with their valets; for whose relief the king of France requested King Robert, and he, willing to

please him, transacted with Sir James, to give him for their ransom 4000 merks sterling, for payment of a part of which sum, the king giveth to him the next year apparently the following charter.

The Douglas Emrauld Charter.

Indictamenta latrociniorum, et ministrationem eorundem in omnibus, infra omnes terras suas subscriptas: scilicet infra. 1. Baroniam de Douglas. 2. Forrestiam nostram de Selkirk, de qua est officarius noster. 3. Constabularium de Lauderio. 4. Forrestiam de Jedburgh cum Bonjedworth. 5. Baroniam de Batherule. 6. Baroniam de Wester-Calder. 7. Baroniam de Stabilgorthane. 8. Baroniam de Romanok. Then in general, *Et infra suas terras quascunque, infra regnum nostrum, cum pertinentibus, quas de nobis tenet in capite.* Then follows the Privilege.

Et si aliqui de hominibus suis, infra prædictas terras, fuerint judicati per justitiarium nostrum; volumus quod dictus Jacobus, et heredes sui, et eorum ministri habeant liberationem, et liberam eorundem ministrationem; salvis nobis et heredibus nostris omnibus aliis particulis ad homicidium et coronam nostram pertinentibus. Tenenda et habenda prædicta indictamenta, cum administratione eorundem, et cum omnibus libertatibus, commoditatibus ad prædicta indictamenta et administrationem eorundem pertinentibus, præfato Jacobo, et heredibus suis in feudo et hereditate in perpetuum de nobis et heredibus nostris.

*Volumus insuper et concedimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris, quod præfatus Jacobus et heredes sui, et eorum homines, infra prædictas terras manentes, liberi sint in futurum de sectis curiæ, de omnibus terris supradictis, et de wardis castro-
trum, nec non de omnibus presis, talliagiis curiagiis et captionibus quibuscunque ad opus nostrum, et heredum nostrorum, salvo tantum communi auxilio pro defensione regni nostri contingente.*

Et ut præsens charta robur firmitatis obtineat in perpetu-

um, manum ejusdem Jacobi, annulo, cum quodam lapide qui dicitur Emeraudus eidem Jacobo, et heredibus suis, nomine sasinae, in memoriale permansuro in futurum ex manu nostra personaliter investimus. Apud Bervicum super Twedam octavo die mensis Novembris, anno regni nostri decimo nono, anno Domini 1325.

'Then there is a precept directed to Bernard Abbot of Aberbrothock, chancellor, to cause make a charter thereof, under the broad seal, and deliver it to the said James. This I thought good to set down in its own words, because of the singularity, in that it is the promise of a king fulfilled to his subject, not for any proper debt or money disbursed, but for the ransom of prisoners. 2. It is singular also, in respect of the thing given, indictments, immunities, liberties, and privileges. 3. The form and manner of it is not ordinary, to hold *in feudo* and inheritance, without any duty, or *reddendo*, as they speak. 4. And last of all, the manner of infeftment and seisin, not by earth and stone, but by putting a ring on his finger with the king's own hand, and thereby infefting both himself and his heirs, as it should seem, in this one action, without reiterating. All which things, how our lawyers will allow of, considering their formalities, and what their opinion will be of the validity thereof, I know not: but we find here plain and square dealing, and honourable meaning: whatsoever the subtilities and quirks of law be, we see an upright and loving prince, a liberal and bountiful king, willing to honour a princely loyal subject.

This and the former charter given four years before, and such others as may be thought to have been given after, to corroborate or increase, perhaps, these freedoms and privileges, on which Archibald the Fourth and his successors have leaned and trusted to, in contemning Crichton and Livingston, at what time they told them, they would preserve their own rights and privileges, and not suffer them to be infringed. And this also hath been the ground upon which the baillies of William the eight earl, he being himself in Italy, would

not suffer the king's officers to meddle with these privileged things in his bounds, which men, that know not their immunities, particularly account treason and rebellion; and so their enemies did term it to incense the king against them.

This battle at Billand was the last piece of service that Sir James did to Edward Carnarvan, who having found fortune so froward to him in chance of war against the Scots, was thereby taught to doubt the trial thereof any further; and therefore he sued for peace, which was concluded at Newcastle, to last for certain years. In this time of peace, although all occasion of warlike action was cut off, yet Sir James was not idle, but did good offices for his king and country. King Robert did esteem so well of him, and had so good opinion of his prudence and fidelity, and did so confide in his love, that he entrusted and employed him in the greatest business that ever he could have to do, which concerned no less than the settling of his crown, and his title to the kingdom, which Sir James performed dexterously and happily.

For being sent into France to John Baliol of Hercourt, to procure his resigning all title and right to the crown in King Robert's favour, he sailed into Normandy; and having declared his commission, and delivered his message, he found Baliol very tractable, contrary to all men's expectation; for he plainly and ingeniously confessed, that he had been deservedly rejected, being noways useful nor profitable for the good of Scotland. He said likewise, that it was God's special and favourable providence that had advanced King Robert thereunto; and therefore he did not repine nor grudge to see the kingdom in the hands of his cousin, by whose high virtue, singular felicity, and great travel, it was restored to the ancient liberty, splendour and magnificence, but rather rejoiced thereat: and chiefly for that they, by whom he was deceived, did not enjoy the hoped fruits of their fraud. And calling together his friends and kinsmen, in presence of them all, he did freely resign unto Robert, and to his heirs, all right and title that he, or any from, or by him, had, or might have to the crown of Scotland, renouncing all interest and claim what-

soever that could be alledged or pretended for any cause or consideration, from the beginning of the world unto that present day. This being done, Sir James returned into Scotland. This King Robert thought fit to be done, not because his own title was not good enough before, for it was good already and sufficient, and so found to be by a better judge than King Edward of England, to wit, the estates of the realm, who are the properest judges in controversies of this nature, and who had power to have made it good, if it had not been so, and might have helped any defect that had been in it, seeing Baliol by his own deed had disabled himself, by giving it over to King Edward, especially seeing it was prejudicial, and against the common liberty and good of the kingdom, to accept of him who had betrayed these, and was not able to defend them. Wherefore King Robert being in possession, and the kingdom being confirmed to him, and to his posterity, he needed no further right from Baliol. Notwithstanding of this, to cut away all pretences of quarrels and calumnies that malicious men might surmise thereabout afterwards, he thought good to have a renunciation from Baliol of his title, and consolidate that with his own: whereupon esteeming none fitter for the purpose than Sir James, as well for the honourable place he held, as for his sufficiency to discharge the commission, not without some consideration of his kindred with Baliol, by the house of Galloway, he laid the charge upon him, which he performed as we have heard.

Sir James being thus returned out of France, King Robert being very glad that his business had succeeded so well, called a parliament at Cambuskenneth, in which the right of succession to the crown was renewed to King Robert's heirs, and namely (failing his son David) to Marjory Bruce his daughter, and Robert Stewart her son. This the nobility did enact and confirm by oath in the year 1325 or 1326, and before the sending of Sir James Douglas, as some authors record.

Not long after, King Robert fell sick, and partly for that cause, partly in regard of his age, not being able to ride abroad and endure travel himself, he committed the managing

of all business of weight both in peace and war to his two friends and colleagues, Sir James and Randolph, two of the most noble knights and bravest captains that were in their days, as our writers do say. And now Edward II. was dead, and Edward III. had succeeded to him, to whom Sir James laboured to do as good service, as he had done to his father. This Edward sent ambassadors to King Robert to treat of peace; but being discovered to have no sincere meaning, and to deal fraudulently; instead of peace they carried home war. So due preparation being made on both sides, our two commanders assembled to the number of 20,000, all horsemen, some say 20,000 horse and 5000 foot, and entered into England, with resolution not to fight but at their advantage and and pleasure, which was the reason they took all or most part horsemen, and few or no footmen. Against these King Edward came in person, with a great army of 100,000 men, as Froysard writes, 80,000 horse, 24,000 archers, having brought with him the Lord Beaumont out of the Low Countries with 700 or 500 horse. The English soldiers of this army were cloathed in coats and hoods, embroidered with flowers and branches, and used to nourish their beards; wherefore the Scots in derision thereof, made this rhyme, and fastened it upon the church-door of St. Peter in the Cannongate.

Beards heartless, painted hoods witless,

Gay coats graceless, make England thriftless.

He fortified the towns of Carlisle and Berwick, and furnished them with men to stop the Scots passage. But they, little regarding either his fortifications, or his forces, passed the water of Tyne at known fords, and made him first know of their arrival by fire and smoke; whereupon putting his men in order, he marched directly towards those places that were smoaking, to have given them battle; but not finding them there, and not knowing how to force them to fight, his resolution was to pass Tyne, and there to intercept them at their return, and to give them battle in those fields, were the

ground was more level and even, and so fitter for his army. Thither then he goeth, with great trouble both of men and horse, by reason of the great rain that fell, as also for scarcity of victuals; and after he had staid there eight days waiting for them, he could hear no news of them; wherefore he chose out about sixteen able young men, whom he sent abroad into the country to search for them, promising a great reward to him that should first bring him word where they were. They having roved up and down the country, at last one of them fell into the hands of the Scots, who, when he had told how King Edward had sent him to search for them, they let him go, and withal bade him tell the king, that they had been eight days as uncertain of him, as he had been of them, and that now they were come within three miles of him, where they would stay for him, and abide him battle, being as desirous to fight as he was. When the young man told the king this, he was rewarded with knighthood, being made such by his own hand; and, besides that, he got 150 pound land to maintain his dignity. Then he gave order that his army should march towards them; but when they came near, they found them so strongly encamped upon a hill, having steep rocks at the one side, and a river on the other, called by Hollinshed the water of Weir, that they durst not adventure to assail them at so great disadvantage: wherefore they sent a trumpet to them, and desired them to come down to the plain ground, and so to fight with true virtue, for honour and empire, and not to sit on the tops of hills, where no person could come at them. The Scots answered with derision, that they would fight not how and when it pleased their enemy, but at their own pleasure; telling him withal, that they were come into his country, and had done as he knew; if any thing that they had done did grieve him, he might come and seek his revenge; they would stay there as long as they thought fit and expedient for them; and if any should assail them, they would do what they could to defend themselves, and make their enemies smart. So they staid there three days in his view; but he not thinking it safe to assail them in that place,

after some few skirmishes at their watering place, the Scots removed their camp to another place that was stronger and harder of access, which Hollinshed calls Stanhope-park, whither the English also followed them. While they lay there encamped, the one over against the other, Sir James Douglas, who was a provident and watchful captain, perceiving that the English watches were somewhat negligently kept (either because they despised the small number of the Scots, or for that they thought they had no mind to fight, but to retire) adventured upon a hazardous but hardy and worthy enterprise. He did choose out two hundred of the choicest of his men, and passing the river in the night, a little off from the English camp, he entered the enemies trenches on that side they least expected, and approached the king's tent, thinking either to have taken, or to have slain him: but the king's chaplain being awake, discovered him, whom he slew with his own hand for his pains: and now the alarm was given, and the whole army was up against him: wherefore having only cut the king's tent-ropes, he returned safe in spite of them, leaving three hundred of them slain in the place, who offered to hinder his retreat. Upon this show and omen of success and good fortune, Thomas Randolph would have given battle in the fields; but Sir James advised him otherwise, showing him how it was not for them, being so few in number, to deal with so great an army in the open and plain fields, but that their only way was to use sleights and stratagems, and to keep themselves in places of strength and advantage. To which purpose he told him the apologue of the fox, whom a fisherman finding in his lodge carrying away a salmon to his den for his young cubs, he drew his sword, and stood in the door to kill him, knowing he had no other way to get out. The fox being thus straitened, went and took hold of the fisherman's mantle, which lay by, and went toward the fire to cast it into it and burn it; the fisherman to save his mantle, ran to the fire, and left the door free; so that the fox escaped out at the door, and, in his way, caught hold of the salmon, and went clear away with all, to the fisherman's

great grief, who had his mantle burned, his salmon lost; and the fox escaped. Even so, says Sir James, it fares with us; we have done these men harm, and they think they have us in the noose, and in a mouse-trap; but I have espied a way by which, though it may seem somewhat hard and troublesome, we shall escape safe without the loss of a man.

They continued still in the same place certain days after this, without doing any thing of note or moment on either side, for the English, warned by their late danger, kept better watch than they had done before; and now having taken a Scottish prisoner, they were informed by him, that the host of the Scots was commanded to be in readiness against the third watch to follow Sir James' standard. This put them to no small business; so that they presently armed, and stood ranked in order of battle, supposing that the Scots intended to make an onset, and assail them in their trenches; and therefore their watches and sentinels were doubled, and the fords strongly guarded. But the Scots by this time were risen and departed, passing through a moss or bog two miles long, which was never passed before, especially by horsemen: but they had provided flakes and hurdles, upon which they made the horses to pass without sinking, leading them in their hands, and walking on foot by them. About the break of day two Scottish trumpeters were brought to King Edward, who were taken by his scouts; and being come before him, told that they were commanded to suffer themselves to be taken thus, that they might tell him, that the Scots were gone home, and that if he had a mind to be revenged on them for any thing they had done, he should follow them. But he considering the matter, and weighing all things, and with what men he had to do, being both valiant and able to endure so much hardship, thought it best to let them go, and so he returned to London, having seen his kingdom burned and spoiled before his face, for all his great army, and himself in the midst thereof in danger of his life, or of taking; which affronts he was forced to pack up at this time, not without great grief and anger without all doubt. And this

is the third piece of service done by that so despised man to the posterity of his despiser; to his son before, and now to his grandchild, in the year 1327 or 1328, near unto Stanhope-park; which because it cannot be denied, Caxton alledgeth that it came to pass by the treason of Mortimer Earl of March, who being corrupted by the Scots with money, would not suffer, saith he, the Earl of Lancaster to pass the water, not very deep at that part, to invade them; by which means they escaped. But our Major doth justly scorn that point of corrupting and bribing with money, and doth further affirm, that they had not any conference at all with Mortimer: so that it is likely, that what Mortimer spoke in that matter of not following, or invading the Scots at their departure, he hath spoken it out of judgement and not partiality; and perhaps more prudently than they that counselled the contrary. However they confessed that the king missed his purpose, and being very pensive therefore, broke up his army and returned to London. Amongst other things they tell, that after the Scots were dislodged, some of the English went to view their camp, partly to see their customs and manner of living, and what provision they had, partly to seek some spoil; when they were come there, they found only five hundred carcases of red and fallow deer, a thousand pair of Highland shoes, called rullions, made of raw and untanned leather, three hundred hides of beasts set on stakes, which served for caldrons to seeth their meat. There were also five Englishmen, who had their legs broken, and were bound naked to trees, whom they loosed, and gave them to surgeons to be cured. When they saw these things, and judged hereby how painful and able to endure the Scotchmen were, they found that counsel to have been good and sound, which was given to their king not to follow them, whether it were Mortimer's or some other's.

The English writers upon this scarcity and penury here found, and upon such other passages (as when Edward II. entered Scotland, and was forced to return for want of victuals, the king having caused all things to be removed out of

his way) take occasion to speak contemptuously of the Scots, as though they had not defended their country by virtue and prowess against England (between it and which they think there is no comparison) but partly by cold and hunger, partly because the English kings did slight it, and were not desirous to conquer it: as also because the English forces were almost employed in France, so that they had no leisure to bend their whole power against Scotland; which, if they had done, they might easily, as they think, have mastered it: imputing hereby the cause of their failing to do it, they having such great odds in number of men and warlike appointment, to want of will, and their hinderance by France, and the poverty of our country, together with the roughness thereof, being so mountainous and full of heaths and wastes, harder enemies than the inhabitants, giving no place to the virtue and valour of the people, very absurdly and maliciously: for as touching the first, that they have had no desire of it, it is a childish affirmation, when they see that they cannot get a thing, to deny that they desire it. The great means they have used, the many attempts they have made, and that common and proverbial speech so ordinary in their own mouths, and devised among themselves, *Qui la France veut gagner, a l' Escosse faut commencer*, do testify the contrary. And above all, their often intending a full conquest of it, as their own histories bear record. And as for the hinderance by France, their aids to Scotland have not been very great, nor very frequent; it may even be said justly, that France hath received more help than ever it gave: for since the league with Charlemaigne, it may be truly said without any poetical hyperbole, That the French armies never wanted Scottish soldiers, but the Scots have but very seldom had Frenchmen to help them. And if the kings of England have sometimes bended their forces towards France, yet they did it not always, but have had more wars in Scotland, when they had peace with France. And it is amongst the complaints of our nation, that France has cast them into wars with England, when they might have had peace. Like as,

when they had the advantage by war, France did often wring their weapons out of their hands, and forced them to a disadvantageous peace, which was commonly the grèatest fruits of their friendship and league. Now, as for the difficulties of hills, hunger, &c. these are not so great as they talk of; for neither is it altogether so poor, nor so hilly and mountainous, as they would have it believed to be; and if King Robert at this time, or any other at any time, have caused spoil and waste in the country at some times, thereby to famish or straiten the enemy, or have chosen to vex or trouble them with a camp *volante* to eschew the hazard of a battle, as Douglas and Randolph did at this time, it hath been the practice of all warriors of all nations: but neither hath it been, neither could it have been the only mean of preserving this country in freedom, except manhood and valour had been joined with it, and that in a great measure; whereof sufferance and hardiness to endure great straits, want, scant, cold, hunger, and travel is no little part. As on the contrary, not to be able to endure these, is effeminacy, the ordinary consequence of riches, wealth, ease, abundance, and delicacy, all reproachful to men; even as the other, I confess, are often the consequences of poverty, and are helps to harden the bodies and whet the courage of men.

Wherefore if they had meant nothing else, but that the poverty of Scotland did preserve the liberty thereof, because it kept the inhabitants in continual exercise both of body and mind, and did not suffer them to grow tender, delicate, and effeminate, but hardened their bodies against want, and their minds and courage against perils and danger, which they employed for the defence of their country, and by which (as the chief means under God) they did defend it, we could well admit of it, and acknowledge as much poverty, (that is to say, want of superfluity and vanity, invented by soft and womenly minds, and covered over with the mask of civility) as hath begotten in them valour and temperance, as it is said to have done in many people before; the Romans, Macedonians, Turks, Parthians, Scythians, &c. But since that is not their

meaning, but even to detract from their valour, they exprobrate their poverty, and cast it up as a reproach, to breed contempt of them in others, and to ascribe to it what is due to their worth, to wit, the liberty and preservation of their country from all foreign enemies: we may say justly, that it hath not been the immediate cause of their being preserved against England, Danes, or whatsoever enemy; but that there hath been as much sufficiency of things necessary, (call it riches, or by what other name you list) as hath moved other nations, especially England, to covet it, and coveting to invade it: and when they had done their best, they were driven from it; not so much by the barrenness and roughness of the soil, as by many and sad strokes of the inhabitants thereof; and by such acts and deeds as became wise, valiant, and courageous men. Concerning all which, this one example will serve to confute whatsoever hath been, or can be said of this kind, than which we need no other proof, and that is this same huge and great army raised by this king (Edward III.) and intending to have come into Scotland, if he had not been thus affronted by Sir James and Randulph; and before in his father's time at Biland, and (which admitteth of no exception) at Bannockburn. In all which there is no colour of want of will; he showed it, he professed it, and presumed to devour them in an instant: no want of forces, having gathered from all countries not only his subjects, but his friends also: no scarcity of victuals, he had abundance of all things: no hills nor mountains, they met in the plain fields: no foreign aid on the Scots side that we hear of, besides the two Brabanders, that King Edward sent to help them. And so again whatsoever progress or appearance of conquest the English have made of Scotland, it was never by their valour and arms, but by the advantage of an intestine war, they siding with the one party, and at last overcoming both, as did Edward I. in the days of Baliol; wherefore they make a wrong account, and much mistake the matter, that think the liberty of this kingdom hath been maintained more by the barrenness of our soil, want of will in our enemies, or of leisure in the English,

than by the worth of our predecessors, if we weigh things rightly. But the true way and mean by which our country and the liberty thereof have stood, and by which they have relieved and vindicated it, when it was thrall'd, are these we have spoken of; by which also they procured peace at all times, and now also at this time.

For the same year, in March, ambassadors came from Edward to treat of perpetual peace, which the next year was concluded by the parliament of England held at Northampton: unto this parliament for treating of articles of peace, King Robert sent Sir James, with some prelates, where it was concluded on these conditions, that the king of England should renounce all title and claim that he and his predecessors had laid to the crown of Scotland, and deliver unto them whatsoever bonds, contracts, writs or evidences they had for their pretended title thereto; and should leave that kingdom as free as it had been in the days and at the death of King Alexander III. from all bondage and servitude for time to come. That the Scots should also resign to the English all lands and possessions which sometimes they had in England, or held of England in fealty, as beneficiaries thereof; and that the marches between the two kingdoms should be Cumberland and Northumberland, unto Stonemoore. That David, son to King Robert, should marry Jane, King Edward's sister, called by some Jane of the Tower, and by the Scots, Jane make peace, in derision; and that King Robert should pay to Edward 3000 merks sterling, for the damage done to his people in the late wars, by Sir James and Randolph, Earl of Murray. The first of these articles was presently performed, and the King of England delivered all the writs and evidences which he had concerning his alledged superiority of Scotland, and amongst them an indenture which they called Ragman, saith Hollinshed, and certain jewels won from the kings of Scotland, amongst which the black crosier or rood was one. This peace the same author calleth "unprofitable and dishonourable, done by evil and naughty counsel." If it were dishonourable for England, it was so much the more honourable for the

Scots that gave it. But the dishonour he meaneth is the renunciation of his title to the crown of Scotland, whereof he had just right. King Robert and the Scots had driven him out of his usurpation, and vindicated their liberty by force of arms: and as for his right and title in law, the world knows what small account Scotland ever made of his pretensions; having never been subject unto any but to their own king. Wherefore it was only to take away all occasion of caviling, and the better to keep peace with their neighbours, that they desired this surrender, as they had done before with Baliol, whose right notwithstanding carried a greater show of equity and reason; and indeed it is not so much to be wondered at, that King Edward condescended to these articles, as it is that King Robert should not have yielded to them, being more unprofitable for him than for the other: and a man would think it very strange that he should part with Northumberland, or give any money to recompence any damage done in a just war; and that there should not rather money have been given unto him, as a dowry or portion with his daughter-in-law. But the time answered it, he was now of a good age, and unable for travel and war, being wearied with battles, and cloyed with victories, and seized by sickness, he longed for peace to himself and to his posterity; but with what fidelity, and how little it was kept by King Edward, we shall hear hereafter. No alliance, nor bond of amity (which ought, but seldom doth tie princes and great men) could keep him from breaking of this peace. The marriage was solemnized at Berwick with all the pomp that might be, after which King Robert lived not a full year.

A little before his death, being at Cardross, which stands over against Dumbarton, on the other side of the water of Leven, whither he had withdrawn himself, by reason of his age and sickness, to live a private and quiet life; he called his friends together, and made his last will and testament, in which having ordered all his other affairs, he called to mind a vow that he had made to go into Syria, and there to fight against the common enemy of the Christian name:

but because his wars before, and now his age and sickness would not suffer him to perform it in his own person, he recommended the performing of it to Sir James Douglas, requesting him earnestly to go and do it for him; and withal, to carry his heart to Jerusalem, and there to bury it near the holy grave. This was esteemed a great honour in those days, both by Sir James himself and others, and withal a clear and honourable testimony of the king's affection towards him; and so he interpreted it. Wherefore King Robert dying the 7th of July, 1329, he made himself ready, and prepared all things for his voyage very diligently; yet there were some of the most judicious in those times, who took it to have a deeper reach; and that, however he did also respect Sir James, and think him the fittest for this business, his main design was to prevent all dissention which might have risen between these two great captains, Douglas and Murray; Randolph, to obviate which, they think, devised to send Sir James out of the country upon this honourable pretext. But there are authors that say, the king did not particularly design Sir James by name, but desired his nobles to choose one of his most noble captains in the realm for that effect, and that they after his decease laid it upon Sir James with one consent, who most willingly accepted thereof, as one who, during King Robert's life, had served the body wherein the heart had lodged. But whether the king desired him by name, or the nobility did interpret the king's meaning to be such, under the title and description of the *Most Noble Captain*, or that they themselves did deem him to be so, as indeed he was most worthy; so it was that the charge was committed unto him, and he most gladly undertook it, when his presence was very necessary for the country.

For before he took his journey, there fell out a matter that occasioned great troubles afterwards by Edward Baliol. One Laurence Twine, an Englishman born, and one of those who had obtained lands in Scotland, for reward of his service in the wars; a man well born, but of a vitious life: this man,

after King Robert's death, presuming of impunity in respect of King David's youth, loosed the reins to his licentious lewdness; and being often taken in adultery, and admonished by the Official of Glasgow when he would not abstain from his wickedness, he was excommunicated: wherewith being incensed, he took the Official as he was riding to the town of Ayr, and kept him prisoner till he was forced to redeem his liberty with a sum of money. Sir James Douglas, highly offended with this enormity, caused seek him, that he might be punished: which Twine understanding, and fearing that he should not long escape his hands if he staid within the country, fled into France, and addressing himself unto Edward Baliol, he persuaded him to enterprize against the king of Scotland, and recover that which he had so good right to, and so fair an opportunity; which Baliol did in Sir James' absence, by his voyage, or after his slaughter in his voyage. And no doubt his absence was a strong inducement both to this Edward, and to Edward of England, to attempt the subduing of Scotland; which he thought would prove easy, by making Randolph away, which he sought to have done by poison, Sir James being absent. So that either the king's devotion, if it were indeed devotion, or his policy, (if it were but policy) in sending of him out of the country, is greatly condemned by our writers. And to speak the truth, it deserves to be condemned, having by so doing sent away so fit and useful a man, denuding the country of such a captain in so doubtful times; whereas a prelate, or some other churchman, had been fitter for that employment. And he ought to have considered that England would be still aiming at the crown of Scotland, notwithstanding the late alliance. Neither needed he to fear any emulation between Randolph and Sir James, there being such entire love in Sir James towards Randolph, that howsoever he contended with him in virtue, yet his contention was but in virtue, and ever within the bounds of modesty, love, and friendship, behaving himself to him as to his comrade and brother in arms, whereof he had ever given in all the joint services so evident proof,

especially at Bannockburn, where his love drew him out to have succoured him, if there had been need, and the same love and candour (so to call it) or courtesy and modesty joined with magnanimity, staid him from going forward, that he might not arrogate to himself one share of that victory, whereby the other's glory had been eclipsed. And when he had got the victory, he accompanied him joyfully into the camp, no less glad than if he had been victorious himself, far from any hateful or envious emulation: so that there was small reason to look for any harm from such a disposition, or any inconvenience from such emulation, but rather to have expected much good from that his so well known affection and constancy both towards Randolph and his native country. However, he out of his own worthy and good nature taking all in good part, passed on his journey, taking with him two hundred gentlemen of note, and (as it is reported) seven hundred others. Amongst the gentlemen of good quality, were Sir William Sinclair of Rosline, Sir Robert Logan of Restalrig, and Sir William Keith. De Froysard, in his 20th chap. reporteth, that after his embarking in Scotland he arrived at the Sluce, and staid there twelve days, where he kept such state and grandeur as if he had been king of Scotland: that he had in company with him, a knight banneret, and seven other knights of Scotland, and was served by twenty-six young squires and young gentlemen of good sort, all his vessels being of gold or silver: that all that came to see him of all sorts of people were, according to their rank, well and plentifully served with all manner of victuals, wine, and spices, the best that could be had. He saith also, that in his return from Jerusalem, he arrived at the port of Valence the Great in Spain, where endeavouring to assist Alphonsus the king thereof, who warred against the king of Granada, then a Saracen, he was there enclosed by an ambush of the enemy, and so lost his life.

He carried with him to Jerusalem the king's heart, embalmed and put into a box of gold, which he solemnly buried before the high altar there; and this is the reason why the

Douglas bear the crowned heart in their coat of arms ever since. When he had performed this piece of service to his dead master, he went with such company as he had brought with him, and joined himself unto such other Christian princes, as at that time were gathered with great power out of sundry parts of Christendom, to war against the infidels; where he did so notable service, that by his frequent victories he won great honour to the Christian name. At last, having accomplished things in those parts with no less fame and glory than princely magnificence, he embarked for Scotland, but was cast by storm of weather upon the coast of Spain, and forced to go ashore on the borders of Granada, where at the same time he found the king of Arragon fighting against the Saracens that inhabited these parts: Sir James offered to the king to serve him in those wars, and so fought against the enemy valiantly, and with great success at several times; till at last having conceived too great contempt of the enemy, esteeming them no warriors, he became somewhat too careless and secure, so that he was enclosed in an ambush and slain, with all that were about him. His bones were embalmed and sent home to Scotland, and buried in the church of Douglas, called St. Bride's Kirk.

And thus he died in the year 1330, the 20th of August, the next year after King Robert's decease. As for his virtues, his actions have declared them sufficiently, yet these in particular are to be observed: in his youth he was careful to enable and fit himself for employment, by the study and exercise of letters, and all good and commendable arts, whereby his mind contracting a good habit, was solidly fixed upon the virtues of modesty and soberness, and empty of all envy, which scarcely and very seldom are joined with these great virtues of courage and magnanimity in a military spirit and life, which commonly hinder others. In his riper years we may see his perfect practice of them against the enemy, and towards his friends. In action he was bold, resolute, and courageous, strong, diligent, and advised; and such every way as a stout soldier or worthy commander ought to be.

Out of action, and in private converse, he was toward, affable, gentle, and courteous unto all. He was loving to his country, loyal, faithful, and obedient to his sovereign: he contended in virtue with his equals, free from envy and hatred against any; and, through the course of his whole life, without stain or blemish that we hear of.

He is reckoned to have been in battles and encounters against the English fifty-seven times, against the Saracens and other infidels thirteen times, ever victorious; thrice as often as he had been years in action, which were about twenty-four from King Robert's coronation 1306, until the time of his death in 1330, which, if it be so, we may see how many things were omitted by our writers, all that are set down being far short of that number. Wherefore it is no wonder, if in such a continual course of victories, some confidence crept upon him; and if accustomed to so hard enemies, and good warriors as the English, and Scots that sided with them (as commonly those are, who are born and bred in the northern parts of the world) he disesteemed and slighted the Saracens and southern softness, weakness, and effeminacy in respect thereof, whereby he fell into this ambush, which was his death. Now as in these respects, it is somewhat to be pardoned, so is this use to be made of it, that we should despise no enemy however inferior, and to eschew too much confidence and presumption in whatsoever advantage, which hath been the ruin and loss of many worthy men. He is said to have been of a black and swarthy complexion, and to have lisped somewhat in his speech. We hear nothing either in history or monument, or otherwise, of his marriage: he had two natural sons, William Lord of Liddisdale (of whom we will speak hereafter) and one Archibald, whom the Lord of Liddisdale made captain of the castle of Edinburgh, when he took it.

To conclude, let this be observed, that Sir James is never mentioned by any, either English or Scottish writer whatsoever, but with honour and commendation, as worthy, valiant, noble, good, or some such epithet; and confessed to have

been one of the most valiant that lived in his days; such is the force of virtue, and so prevalent is it even with enemies. We will not omit here, the judgement of those times concerning him, in an old rude verse indeed, yet such as beareth witness of his true magnanimity and invincible mind in either fortune, good or bad.

Good Sir James Douglas,
Who wise, and wight, and worthy was,
Was never over glad for winning,
Nor yet over sad for tining,
Good fortune and evil chance,
He weighed both in one balance.

Jacobus Douglassius Roberto Brussio *Regi socius omnium laborum;*
in Hispania cæsus a Saracenis, 1330.

*Quicquid sors potuit mortali in pectore ferre,
Vel facere, hoc didici perficere, atque pati.
Prima ubi luctando vici, sors affuit ausis
Omnibus: et quid non pro patria ausus eram?
Hosti terror ego: nullis me terruit hostis:
Consiliis junxi robora dura meis.
Prælia quot numerat, titulosque, actosque triumphos
Brussius, hinc totidem pene trophæa mihi.
Quo jam signa feram? major qærendus et orbis
Atque hostis. Famam non capit iste meam.
Arma Saraceno objeci prope littora Calpes
Herculeæ: hic tellus me male fausta tegit.
Herculæ Græcis memorctur gloria laudis,
Fallor? an Herculeis stant potiora mea.*

In English thus.

Whatever weight in furious fortune laid
On weak man's breast, I suffered undismay'd.
Nor less my active force; and when I try'd
Her power in war, propitious fate deny'd
No help; whilst my endeavours well did prove
How much I dared for my country's love.
A terror to my foes; I knew no fear,
Wisdom and valour both united were

In me. And look what triumphs great Bruce gain'd,
 As many trophies were by me obtain'd.
 What more remaineth to increase my name?
 The world appears too little for my fame.
 To Spain my aid I gave, and did oppose
 The Saracen, there was the fatal close
 Of my brave life, where't may be question'd much,
 If Hercules's monuments were such.

Of HUGH the Fourth and Ninth Lord of DOUGLAS.

UNTO this Sir James, his brother-german Hugh Douglas did succeed, the ninth Lord, and fourth of that name. Of this man, whether it was by reason of the dulness of his mind, or infirmity of his body, or through whatsoever occasion else, we have no mention at all in history of any of his actions, only it is certain that he succeeded, and was Lord of Douglas, which he demitted in favour of his brother Archibald, slain at Halidon-hill, to his son William, who was the first Earl of Douglas, as shall be shown in his life. The honour of the name and dignity of the house was upheld by his brother Archibald Lord of Galloway, of whom therefore we are now to speak. This Hugh lived after the death of his brother Archibald, which was 1333, some nine or ten years, till 1343, as the charter of resignation of the lordship to his nephew doth witness. He died without children, and was never married.

*Of ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS Lord of Galloway, Governor
 of Scotland, Third Brother to Sir JAMES.*

BEFORE we proceed to speak of the next Lord Douglas, the time and order of the history requireth that we speak of Archibald Douglas Lord of Galloway, and Governor of Scotland: he was third brother to good Sir James, as Boetius af-

firmeth in these words, *Archibaldus Douglassius germanus Jacobi de Douglas, quem nuperrime in Hispania interiisse scripsimus*. This Archibald did outlive Sir James not above three years, as we shall show hereafter. Neither is the loss of the battle wherein he died, imputed to his youth, but to his haste and indignation. And in the battle of Annand, he showed wisdom and prudence sufficiently. Touching his education, there is no mention thereof in history: he married Dornagilla, daughter to Red John Cuning, whom King Robert slew at Dumfries. This John Cuning was styled Lord of Galloway, having married a daughter of Allan Lord of Galloway, called Mary, whose eldest sister Dornagilla, John Baliol had married; and therefore he is also styled Lord of Galloway. There was also a third of these daughters married, as our writers say, to the Earl of Abermale: it seemeth the lands of Galloway (Lord Allan dying without heirs-male) have been divided among the three sisters: as for his third, we find nothing else of her. This Archibald having married John Cuning's daughter, the inheritrix of the lands of Galloway, was employed in the war against Edward Baliol, whom he defeated and chased to Roxburgh, whereupon, for this service, and also by another title which he claimed, as nearest to the house of Galloway by his grandmother the Earl of Carrick's sister, (which right we have deduced at large in the life of Lord William the Third, maker of the Indenture) Baliol being forfeited, he obtains the lands of Galloway, as evidences and histories bear record, styling him Archibald Lord of Galloway, which continued in his posterity until the forfeiture of the Earls of Douglas. Some alledge that Red John Cuning did not marry the Lord of Galloway's daughter Mary, but a daughter of John Baliol of Harcourt in Normandy, called Adama, whom he begot on his wife Dornagilla, who was daughter to Allan Lord of Galloway: but how came Red John to style himself Lord of Galloway, seeing his wife was Adama Baliol, who had brothers, at least one, to wit, John Baliol that was competitor with Bruce. However it was, Archibald Douglas having chased Edward

Baliol, and Baliol being forfeited, was made Lord of Galloway.

This Archibald had by his wife Dornagilla Cuming two sons, William who succeeded to his uncle Hugh in the Lordship of Douglas, and was created Earl of Douglas, and Archibald after Lord of Galloway: he had also a daughter called Marjory married to Thomas Earl of Mar.

We have heard in the life of good Sir James, how King Robert Bruce, before his death, had taken all pains for establishing the kingdom to his posterity, and to leave it peaceably unto them, and had done for that effect what the wit of man could devise. He had beaten out his enemies by arms; he had ratified and confirmed his right by the laws and act of parliament; he had obtained a renunciation of all title and claim he could pretend from John Baliol his competitor; he had got also the like renunciation from the king of England, and all evidences, writs, and monuments concerning his pretences delivered up to him, discharged and cancelled, and declared to be null and of no value, by consent of the English parliament: and, (to be the surer of King Edward's friendship) he married his son David to Jane his sister. He had cut off the rebellions that were springing up against him, by executing such as were guilty, established Randolph tutor and protector to his son, and governor of the country; he had removed all occasion of emulation, that might have fallen out therein, and settled all with good advice, good precepts, good counsel in his testament, both for peace among themselves, and war against the enemy. But what is the wit of man? and how weak a thing are his devices? or what bonds will bind whom duty cannot bind?

This same Baliol, whose father had renounced his right (nothing regarding what his father had done) renewed his claim to the crown. This same king of England, who had himself solemnly renounced, who had bound up friendship with the most sure and strongest bonds that can be amongst men, regarding neither his resignation made, nor his affinity and alliance, nor any duty towards God, or faith and promise

to man, used all means to strip his brother-in-law (and by consequence his sister) out of the kingdom of Scotland, as if nothing were unlawful that could fill up the bottomless gulf of his ambition. First, he caused an English monk, under colour of giving physick for the gravel, to poison the governor Thomas Randolph Earl of Murray, and afterward aided Edward Baliol with 6000 English, upon condition that Baliol should hold the crown of him. Edward Baliol entering Scotland with these forces; and being assisted by the malecontents in Scotland, prevailed so, that having won a battle at Duplin (1332, the 22d of September, the third year after the death of King Robert, and about one year after the death of Randolph) in which many were slain, to the number of 3000, together with Duncan or Donald Earl of Mar, the the governor. He was crowned at Scone, and those of the Bruce's side constrained to send their King David Bruce, with his wife, into France, having no safe place at home to keep him in.

After his coronation, having taken in divers places that stood out against him, he went at last to Annand, receiving such as would acknowledge him, and taking their oath of allegiance and fidelity. Whereupon Andrew Murray Earl of Bothwell, chosen governor after Mar's death, sent Archibald Lord of Galloway to see what he could do against Baliol in those quarters; he taking with him his nephew, William Douglas Lord of Liddisdale, and John Randolph, the governor Randolph's son, together with Simon Fraser, having in company with them a thousand horse, went first to Moffat, and having there understood of Baliol's careless discipline and security, departing from thence in the night, he came so suddenly to Annand where Baliol lay, that he escaped very narrowly, being half naked, not having leisure to put on his clothes; and riding upon a cart horse, unsaddled and unbridled, till he came to Carlisle. Others write, that though he came very quietly to have surprised the enemy unawares in the night-time, yet they had notice of his coming, and issued forth of the town with a great army, where they fought long

and stoutly, till at last Baliol was overthrown and fled. There were slain many of his friends, and amongst these, Henry Baliol, who behaved himself very manfully, John Mowbray, Walter Cumin, Richard Kirbie, Robert (or Alexander) Bruce Earl of Carrick, and son to Edward King of Ireland, was taken prisoner, and obtained pardon by the intercession of his cousin John Randolph.

Hollinshed writteth, that somewhat before this time the friends of David Bruce understanding that Baliol did sojourn within the town of Perth, had besieged it, but that they were constrained to raise the siege, because of the men of Galloway, who having been sometimes the Baliol's dependers, invaded the besiegers lands, under the conduct of Eustace Maxwell; whereupon he saith, Archibald Lord of Galloway, with the Earls of March and Murray, invaded Galloway with fire and sword, and brought away great booties, but slew not many men, because they got them out of the way, for fear of that terrible invasion. This narration may be true in the last part thereof concerning their invasion, but the cause of this invasion is not probable; that the men of Galloway should invade men's lands that lay so far from them, as they behoved to be that did besiege St. Johnston: for in all likelihood it was besieged by these that were nearest to it, being in kin, and friends to those that were slain in Duplin; and both Hollinshed himself, and others write, that it was recovered in Baliol's absence about the same time, while he sojourned in Annand, by those that lay near to it, without mentioning any other siege, before that, at which it was taken.

This battle at Annand so changed the case, that he who even now was crowned king, in September, who had far prevailed, to whom all men, even King David's nearest friends and kinsmen, had yielded, despairing of his estate, was, by this act of Archibald Lord of Galloway, turned quite out of his kingdom and country, and compelled to fly into England to save his life the 25th of December the same year, about three months after his coronation, and was compelled to keep his Christmas at Carslile, in the house of the Friars Minors.

A notable example of the inconstancy of worldly affairs, and constancy of an honest heart in the Douglas, not abandoning his prince's cause, when others had forsaken it, and also a proof of his good and useful services; for which, as he deserved perpetual praise and favour of his rightful prince, so did he incur great hatred of his enemy, the usurping Baliol, who the next day after, (the 26th of December) going into Westmoreland, and there being honourably received by the Lord Clifford, gave unto him the whole lands of Douglasdale, which the said Lord Clifford's grandfather had before in the days of King Edward I. so proudly did he presume to give that which was not in his power: and so little had he learned the lesson of the uncertainty of human affairs, grounded on whatsoever power, appearance, or even success; and so difficult a lesson it is to learn, where there remains means so great as he trusted to, the power of the king and kingdom of England, with his own particular friendship and faction within the country of Scotland, which shall indeed have power to trouble the state a while, but not to establish either the kingdom to himself, or any part of Douglasdale to the Lord Clifford.

The next year, 1333, King Edward of England, having shaken off all colour of duty to his brother-in-law King David, made open war to be proclaimed between the two countries, which turned on all hands to the disadvantage of Scotland, even upon both the marches. For the Lord of Liddisdale was taken prisoner on the west hand, he having the charge of that quarter, and Murray the governor on the middle march was taken likewise at the castle of Roxburgh, by pursuing the victory too far on the bridge, and so excluded from his own. King Edward took openly upon him the protection of Baliol, having caused him to swear homage to him; and so with a great army, both of his own subjects and foreigners, came in person and sat down before Berwick, and besieged it both by sea and land. Hereupon the nobility of Scotland chose Archibald Douglas Lord of Galloway to be governor and general of the army, advising him to enter England, and to spoil it with fire and sword, so as to force King Edward to

rise from before Berwick, and leave the siege. And this whilst he was about to have done, he is advertised from within the town, that Sir Alexander Seton, governor thereof, had made a paction with King Edward to render the town, if he were not succoured by the Scots before the first of August next; and for performance thereof, had given him his son and heir in pledge and hostage. Hereupon the Lord Governor changeth his purpose fearing the loss of the town, and against the opinion of the wisest of his army, marcheth directly towards Berwick: and the third day after he set forth, he came within the sight both of his friends and foes. Before this King Edward (besides Thomas Seton, who was given him in pledge) had taken also Alexander Seton, another son of the governor of Berwick, whilst at a sally out of the town he followed upon the enemy too eagerly, and had now both the brothers in his power, the one a pledge, the other a prisoner. He therefore seeing now that the town was like to be relieved, sent to the captain, certifying him plainly, that unless he did render the town into his hands, both his sons should be hanged immediately upon a gibbet, in sight of the town before his eyes. The captain returned him answer, that the days of the truce were not yet expired, and therefore desired him, either to keep the covenant he had made, or else deliver the hostages, and be at his advantage. When the king could not prevail with him, nor break him off his resolute constancy, (to which his virtuous and generous lady did also notably encourage him,) he was as good as his word, and performed indeed what he had threatened against the law of nations, and against all humanity, hanging them up almost in the very sight of their parents, who bore it patiently and constantly for the good of their country, and thought their childrens lives well bestowed in that regard; only that they might not be beholders of so heavy a spectacle, they retired themselves to their chamber apart.

This strange, tyrannical, barbarous, and monstrous fact is suppressed in the histories of England, and buried in silence, not unwisely, it being capable neither of defence nor excuse;

and yet is contrary to the laws of histories, and the duty of an historian, who ought (according to the oath of witnesses) to tell all the truth, and nothing but the truth; seeing where the truth is either adulterated or suppressed, the life of history is lost, which consists in particular circumstances truly related. Neither do I see how this same king (in the end of his life) can pertinently and justly be called courteous and gentle, after such a fact, whereof few the like have fallen into the hands of the cruellest tyrants that ever were recorded in story. And, for my part, I think certainly that it is not possible that one who is of a nature truly gentle and courteous, should commit and be guilty of so foul a crime. It is a perpetual blot and inexcuseable, and such as no wit can wash away. So it is still, and so let it ever be branded and detested: so it was by our governor the Lord of Galloway; and so much did it move him, and so far stir up his noble indignation, that he thought he could never be exonerated with credit, without avenging it, or spending his life in the quarrel; and so being resolved to fight, he would never give ear to any counsel on the contrary, nor alter his determination for any difficulty that could be proposed. And now King Edward, after that unpleasant spectacle, detested even by the English themselves, had drawn up his army, and taken a hill to the west of Berwick called Halidon-hill, a place very advantageous for him; and the Scottish army did stand over against them in battle array. The governor commanded to march up the hill, and to invade the English where they stood, altogether against the counsel of the best advised, who both before, considering the inequalities of the armies, both in number (they being but few in respect of the English) and in experience, being for the most part young and raw soldiers, not yet trained, had dissuaded him from fighting any at all; and now seeing the odds, and inequality of ground, would gladly have opposed themselves thereunto. But all was in vain; he was so incensed with that so detestable fact, that boiling with anger, and desirous of revenge, and trusting to the goodness of his cause, and to the forwardness of his army, who being inflamed in the

like anger upon the same occasion, were very desirous to join battle, esteeming that their earnestness of mind, would supply their want of skill, and overcome all other difficulties; and thinking in himself, that if, having been a spectator of that vile and cruel murder, he should turn his back without fighting, it would be accounted cowardice; he prosecuted his resolution, and commanded to march forward, which was accordingly performed. They were first to descend and go down from a little hill on which they stood, then through a valley; and so to climb up another hill, so steep that one man may (as Major saith) keep down four, such is the situation thereof on the west-side. Wherefore the Scots, before they could come to strokes, were almost overwhelmed with shot and stones; when they were come up, being quite out of breath, and charged from the higher ground, they were born down with violence and slain. Some write, that the first joining of the battle was at the foot of the hill, upon more even ground; but that the English gave somewhat back towards the side and ascent of the hill; and having got that advantage of the rising of the hill, made a fierce onset upon the Scots, who pursued them too rashly, supposing the English had fled, by which means they were utterly overthrown.

There died of the Scots in this battle 10,000, others say 14,000 the English writers say 30,000. A rare host among the Scots, though the country had not been divided in itself; and there were but few more than 30,000, when they overthrew the King of England with his invincible army at the renowned battle of Bannockburn. But such is the custom and form of their writers, to extol their own facts, and to lessen their neighbours; for they say there were slain only at Bannockburn of the English 10,000, and at this battle but fifteen, how apparently, let the reader judge. Our writers say there was no small number of them slain, and that it was fought with great courage, nevertheless of this inequality: neither did the Scots turn their backs, or give ground, until their general, fighting valiantly in the midst of them, was slain.

There died with him John, James, and Allan Stewarts, sons to Walter Stewart, in his own battle, the Earl of Ross, to whom he had committed the van-guard, with Kenneth Earl of Sutherland, Alexander Bruce Earl of Carrick, Andrew, James, and Simon Frasers. Few were taken prisoners, and such as were taken, by the command of King Edward were beheaded the next day, against the law of arms. Some few were saved by their keepers, who were more covetous of their ransom, than of their blood. Such cruelty did this gentle nature practise before the battle upon the Setons, in the chace upon the flyers, and after the battle upon the prisoners in cold blood. But his aim was to make a full conquest of Scotland, which did fail him notwithstanding. This battle was fought July 22d, 1333, called Magdalen's day, accounted by the superstition of the people unfortunate for Scotland.

Thus died Archibald Douglas Lord of Galloway fighting for his country: his love thereof, his indignation against so inhumane a fact is commendable: his magnanimity likewise and valour is such as became his house: his conduct is blamed, and the cause thereof, whether it were anger or error, his anger or desire of revenge, though the cause be never so just, should have been bridled and tempered, and so governed with such wisdom as might have effected a due punishment indeed, and not so heady as to have precipitated himself and the country into extreme danger and ruin whilst he sought revenge. Or if it were error, and too much relying upon the forwardness of his army, that indeed is a thing not to be neglected, but to be taken hold of, and made use of, yet it ought not to be so far trusted but well employed, and managed with judgement, as a good addition to other means and helps, but not that the whole hope of the victory should be grounded and hang upon it alone; far less ought it to be made use of, when there is too great odds. In which case it serves but for a spur to set us on our more speedy ruin. If it were fear that he should be thought a coward if he did not fight, that moved him, his fear was needless; he had given good proof of it before, and

might have given more thereafter: he should have remembered that he was a general and leader in whom want of wisdom and government were as much to be blamed as fearfulness. He was also a governor, in whose safety the kingdom was interested, and who ought to have regarded the good thereof. In this balance he should have weighed things, and should have done according to it, though with hazard of a sinister report for a while, which might easily have been recovered in its own time. Concerning which, and all idle fame, and vain opinion of ignorant people, we have that notable example of that worthy Fabius Maximus the Roman captain, who neither by the provocation of the enemy, nor importunity of the soldiers, nor disgraceful rumours scattered among the people, as if he durst not have fought, or had colluded with Hannibal, and other such slanders, could be moved to fight but at a convenient time: nay rather than he would do it, he suffered the half of his army to be taken from him, and given to his lieutenant, as the hardier man than he, who both durst, and would fight, as he bragged, and so he did indeed upon the first occasion, but with such fool-hardiness, as that he had both lost himself and his whole army, if Fabius had not come in time to his rescue, who at that fit time of fighting, showed in effect, both what he durst do in manhood, and what he could do in wisdom; and easily made these fond rumours to vanish, to his perpetual glory, the confuting and confounding of his competitor, and confession and acknowledgement of his worth from those who had blamed him before. Not unlike to this was the saying of great Scipio the African, who being reproached by a certain man that he was not so forward a fighter as he could have wished (though in every deed he was forward enough) deigned him no other answer, but that his mother had born him to be a commander, not a fighter, thinking that a captain's chief honour is to command well, and to choose fit times, places, and means for fighting. And not to go any farther; we heard before in good Sir James' life, how little he was moved at the English herald's demands, who desired,

in the King's name, that he would fight him on the plain field, upon equal ground, if he had either virtue or honour. Sir James sent him away with derision, as one that had made a foolish request, telling him, that a good captain should account it his honour not to fight for his enemies request, but as he found most convenient for himself, in wisdom, choosing the form, the field, the time, the place, and all for the advantage of his army, and giving no advantage to the enemy, whereof he could possibly hinder him. And this I have insisted upon so much the more, because many that are of good spirits otherwise, do often err in this false opinion, and thereby lose both themselves and their honour. So that while they affect to be called hardy fighters, do prove indeed to be foolish captains and bad commanders; and so do not avoid reproach, but incur it. Neither get they the honour of valour, which they seek, but the blame of temerity and rashness, which they should avoid. So that the writers speaking of this fact do all of them condemn it, and brand it with a note of ill conduct; and some of them say in express terms, Archibald Lord of Galloway was not valiant in this case, but temerarious and foolish; very truly and wisely, to warn others to take heed, and beware of failing in the like kind; very soberly and respectfully, restricting it to this particular only; and in this case leaving him his due praise and commendation in his other actions, as ye have heard he very well deserved.

This defeat drew on with it the surrendering of the town of Berwick, the next day after, by Sir Alexander Seton, and of the castle by Patrick Dunbar Earl of March, lives and goods safe, themselves giving their oath of allegiance and fealty to the king of England. He commanded the Earl of March to re-edify the castle of Dunbar, which he, being not able to keep it, had demolished, that it might not be a receipt to the English. And within a short time this overthrow had well nigh overthrown the kingdom and the cause: for the greatest part of the nobility, that were not dead before, being slain in this conflict, the rest flying, to save themselves, to strengths and deserts; Baliol, assisted by Robert Talbot a nobleman of

England, whom the king had left with him, with a few English bands, being aided by his favourers in Scotland, made himself once more King, and was confirmed by Parliament within half a year after he had been driven out: all yielded obedience to him, save only five castles, to wit, Lochleven, Dumbarton, Kildrummie, Urquhart and Lowdonpeel, seated on a little lake; so that no man in Scotland durst call David Bruce their king, except young children in their plays: so far were matters altered by this check! where it is to be marked, that as by the wise and wary government of the same Archibald, his country and lawful king were defended, and Baliol chased out of his usurped kingdom: so by the same man's oversight in government, both the usurping Edwards (English and Scots) are repossessed again therein, and his country plunged into misery, and the rightful king and his partners brought to great extremity.

Of so great efficacy is good or evil government; therefore it is so much the more circumspectly to be looked to, and to be exercised according to the rules of wisdom, and not after the opinions of men, fame, and reports, anger, or whatsoever other cause doth make men stray from the right and straight course of reason. This was the lamentable condition of our country. But let us have patience a while, and we shall shortly have better news: both these usurpers shall before long be driven to let go their hold, and at last be utterly disappointed of all their hopes and projects; God preserving the liberty of this country, and the crown thereof, to the rightful heir, and the Bruce's blood, in whose posterity it shall yet prosper. In which work, no little part shall be the valiant and faithful efforts of the Douglasses. Amongst whom it were requisite to speak of the next Lord Douglas: but the order of time draws me another way; it being long before his turn come in, even ten or twelve, or perhaps twenty years, as shall be seen, in its own place: for he has been young, it would seem, and abroad out of the country; but in his absence some other of the Douglasses must not be idle.

Archibaldus Duglasius *ad Halidonem cæsus*, 1333.

*Non potuit perferre nefas, sædamque tyranni
 Perfidiæ. Et quisnam sustinuisse queat?
 Ergo furens animi, atquo accense pectore inardet
 Prælia, et ingratas increpat usque moras.
 Poscimus aut æquo, dixit, certamine Marlem,
 Aut certum est fatis cedere velle tuis.
 Ah nimis! ah properant! Non illis ignea virtus
 Defuerat: nocuit præcipilasse nimis.
 Nec te victorem jactes, temeraria virtus
 Si nocuit. Vinci vis animosa nequit.*

In English thus,

He was not patient enough to see
 The tyrant's faithless fact. And who could be?
 Hence his enflamed breast with anger swell'd,
 Enrag'd at such impediments, as held
 His hand from just revenge. Come let us try
 Our chance, and win the field, or bravely die.
 If fate will have it so, he said: and all
 With too much haste obey'd their general.
 No courage wanted, but the hard event
 Prov'd the act rash, and lost the punishment
 Of ill rul'd valour. Thou didst nothing gain,
 Who to his passion yields, commands in vain.

*Of WILLIAM DOUGLAS Lord of Liddisdale, called
 the Flower of Chevalry.*

BEFORE we proceed to the rest of the Lords of Douglas, the order of the history requires that we speak something of William, not Lord of Douglas, but Lord of Liddisdale, and a worthy member of the house and name of Douglas. The first mention of him and his actions is at the battle of Annand, where he was with Archibald Lord of Galloway. The last of his actions of importance are in the beginning of the first Earl William, before the battle of Durham, the space of thir-

teen years or thereby; which time he employed for his lawful king and country, against the usurpers, so diligently, as shall be deduced in the progress of this story. Writers call him natural son * to Sir James slain in Spain, which is truth: But they err when they say that John Lord Dalkeith was brother to William Lord of Liddisdale, he being Liddisdale's uncle and Sir James' brother; so Mr. John Major hath Davidis for Gulielmi, and Holinshed and Boetius, William for Archibald, who was made Captain of the Castle of Edinburgh, by this same William. But it is so clear and manifest whom they mean of, that there is no question to be made of it. However it be, he hath so honoured and ennobled himself by his virtue, that no posterity needs to inquire of his birth. We find that he was married to a daughter of Sir John Graham, Lord of Abercorn, called Margaret Graham, by whom he got the lands of Liddisdale: he had but one only daughter, Mary, who was married to Sir James of Lowdon, who after the Lord Liddisdale's death and Margaret Graham's, got the lands of Liddisdale.

His first appearing, to wit, at the battle of Annand, hath been spoken of; after that he was for his wisdom and manhood accounted worthy to have the custody and government of the west marches, as the charge of the east marches was committed to Patrick Dunbar. Being warden there, he had his residence at Annand, where, at a certain skirmish with the English, his men were scattered, himself was hurt and taken prisoner, about that same time that Regent Murray was taken at Roxburgh, to wit, in the year 1332, before the battle of Halidonhill, which was the occasion that he was not there with his uncle, Archibald Lord of Galloway. He continued a prisoner until 1335, and then he and Murray were both set at liberty, having paid a great sum of gold for their ransom. It is strange that these two great politicians (the two Edwards I mean) intending a conquest of Scotland, should

* He is not son to James the good Lord Douglas, but son lawful to James Douglas de Laudonio. Charters.

have suffered such men to be set at liberty at any rate, without making them sure to their side; considering that the detaining of them would greatly have facilitated their designs; and their liberty, being enemies, hinder and annoy them, as we shall hear it did not a little. It was apparently the pride of their hearts in that good success which made them careless and secure, not fearing any danger from these or any else. So doth success, and pride growing thereupon, commonly blind men; or so doth God blind the wisdom of unjust men, when he hath a work to do against them. But before we come to the rest of the deeds of this valorous Lord, we must take a view of the estate of things at that time, that the circumstances (which are the life of history and light of actions) being known, the actions themselves may be the better considered.

We have heard how desperately things went on the Brucian, which was the only right side: he that was lawful king durst not do so much as once offer to call him king, but the little children in their play, who still stiled him so; whether by a natural inclination to their rightful prince, or by some spark of divine inspiration joined therewith, who can tell? or who knows these things? What notions will either remain of old, or spread of new in the hearts of men, where God's work is to be done? Wise men keep silence, and therefore the stones behaved to cry out, and foolish simple babes bear witness that the Bruce was king, for all the usurper's confidence and cruelty: no doubt it was with great derision and contempt of the hearers, but the event did justify it, that it had a secret mover. No man saw the means how it could come to pass, but means will not be wanting where a work is to be done. This ought to be a heartning to good subjects in their lawful prince's quarrel, and for good men, in all good causes, not to despair for want of means. Let men do their best, means will come from whence they least dream of: perhaps it will fall out so here in this case. Out from among the midst of the enemies the first glimpse of deliverance doth arise.

There were that conspired against the Bruce to wrack him

and the country, England and the Baliol's faction in Scotland, and those had over-run all. There comes a blink of favour and hope from Rome, by the procuring of France. The Pope sends to King Edward of England, to desist from invading of Scotland; but that evanished without effect: pride had so far prepossessed his heart, that he thought himself sure to make a conquest of Scotland, pleasing himself in his own conceit, and supposing Scotland neither durst nor could ever make head against him hereafter: wherfore he will not do so much as give the ambassadors leave to come into his sight. A manifest contempt, not so much of the people, as of the voice of equity and reason. But he called it *reason* what he had *ability* to do: *Stat pro ratione voluntas* is the voice of tyranny; and indeed a change being to come, pride behoved to go before: but the working of this is obscure, and not perceived at first openly; dissension amongst the conspirators doth arise upon a light occasion, a gnat's wing, (as the proverb is) but it grows to a mountain. Talbot, an Englishman, was appointed with Baliol, as hath been said, for to govern Scotland; his co-adjutors for reconquering of it were, amongst other Scots Englished, David Cuming Earl of Athole, Henry of Beaumont, John Mowbray an old favourer of that faction from the time of Edward I. of whom he had received divers lands, for ill service to his country; which Edward esteemed to be good, as indeed it was profitable to him. This John Mowbray was dead, and had left his lands to be divided between his two daughters and his brother Alexander, or rather as a bone and a matter of debate amongst the whole faction; for his daughters claiming it as heirs of line, his brother by heir-male as entail, the case was brought to judgement. Henry of Beaumont had married one of the daughters, he therefore was inclined that way, as one that was interested. Talbot and Cuming swayed this way; Edward Baliol inclined to the other party, and gave sentence for Alexander the brother. Hereupon dissension ariseth; they grudge and murmur against the judgement; they complain of it in their open discourse and speeches, as unjust; they withdrew themselves from

court, as malecontents. Talbot goes into England, perhaps to complain to the king, and as he came through Lothian, he is taken by some of King Bruce's party, who begin to show their heads upon this occasion, and carried to Dumbarton, where he died. Beaumont put hand to work, and without so much as acquainting the king withal, takes Dungard, a strong castle in Buchan, and the rest of the lands that were in plea he seizeth them, and makes them his own by the law of the strongest. Cuming gets him into Athole, and there fortifies himself against whosoever should assail him. This terrifies Baliol so, that he retreats his sentence, and turns his coat; agreeth with those two, granting unto Beaumont the lands which he had adjudged from him, and giving Cuming divers other good lands which belonged to Robert Stuart, who shall reign afterward, to shew upon what ill ground that gift was founded. But is he the better for this injustice? for injustice it must be either first or last, he is not so much the better, as in likelihood he should have been; for injustice is never profitable. If he gain one, he loseth another; he wins Cuming and Beaumont, but he loseth Alexander Mowbray; who thereupon joins himself to the other party. And thus was this usurper's faction brangled, then bound up again, and after divided again by want of worth in Baliol their head. But this is not all; for it seems that Cuming's mind hath not been so much soundly reconciled to Baliol, as it hath been only plaistered over; which may appear to be probably collected out of the history, which they say is thus: Edward of England came with 50,000 men into Scotland: to what purpose so many? Was there war? None, saith he, nor rebellion greatly, that appeared any where. What doth he then? Doth he fight with any man? Doth he fortify castles? We hear no word of any such matter. What hath been his intention then? Wherefore came he, and with so huge an army, they tell not: but let actions speak, they will tell. All agree in this, that he took away Baliol into England; there is one point. Then he hath been jealous of him, and hath feared perhaps that he would not continue long his

vassal, as his grandfather had proof, in Baliol's father. But what doth he more? he leaves Cuming to guide the affairs in Scotland; there is another point. He makes him viceroy in Scotland for Baliol, and Baliol in effect prisoner in England. Of which course Edward of England is the author; let it be so, who will purge Cuming of having been a counsellor, a suggestor of information for his own advancement? He being a man that did ever hunt after preferment, which he made the scope of his actions, and compass by which he ever sailed; being also of an aspiring mind, and of a fickle and various disposition and nature. However it be, this is another division in that society between the Edwards, the usurping king. And thus much of the state of their faction.

Concerning the other party that stuck to the lawful King Robert Stewart, that afterwards was king, had escaped Baliol's ambush: being but fifteen years of age, and by the help of his friends, was conveyed to the castle of Dumbarton, where he was received by Malcolm Fleming captain thereof. Now both the Edwards being absent, and he having a particular spleen against Cuming, who possessed his private inheritance; the said Robert, with the help of Colin or Duncan Campbell in Argyle, from whom he obtained an aid of 400 men, had taken the castle of Dunholm in Kyle, and destroyed the English garrison there, whereupon the men of Bute, which was his private inheritance, had taken arms, slain Allan Lyle their captain and sheriff, who was placed there by Baliol and Cuming, and were come home very joyful to their old masters the Stewarts. Upon this Thomas Bruce Earl of Carrick with his friends and neighbours of Kyle and Cunningham, and William Karrudise of Annandale, who had ever refused the English yoke, coming forth out of the place where they had lurked, resorted to him also. John Randolph Earl of Murray was returned from France, and did encourage them with hopes of foreign help of Jeffrey or Godfrey Ross (sheriff of Ayr) had drawn Kyle, Carrick and Cunningham to be of the party; Renfrew was also returned to the Stewarts. By their example the dependants of Andrew Murray had drawn

all Clydesdale to them, partly by fair means, and partly by force. These under the command and leading of Robert Stewart and John Randolph, had passed into the north parts, chased David Cuming, governor for the English, to Lochaber and compelled him to yield, and swear obedience to David Bruce; notwithstanding that the enemy had committed to him so great a charge, as to be lieutenant for him in those parts.

About this time, or a little before, William Lord of Liddisdale returned from his captivity, having been three years in prison: and he no sooner returned, than he presently began to serve his king and country faithfully and diligently against both their enemies, Scots and English usurpers, recompensing his long imprisonment with his enemies' losses, especially in Lothian: for the more easy performance hereof, and that he might annoy them that were in the castle of Edinburgh, (which was then held by the English) and them that went toward it, he lay in wait in Pentland-hills. To him John Randolph, after that he had left David Cuming Earl of Athol, lieutenant for him in the north parts (Randolph and Robert Stewart were chosen governors by the king's party) did adjoin himself as to his old and fast friend: from thence they both went to Perth, to a convention of the states, the 2d of April, 1335: but there was nothing done at that meeting, because of the enmity betwixt the Lord of Liddisdale and David Cuming Earl of Athol. The occasion was, the Lord of Liddisdale alledged that he was detained longer in prison than otherwise he would have been, by the means of the Earl of Athol, who, no doubt, did think it meet for Baliol and the English faction, and therefore advised them to keep him. And certainly he was wiser in that point than they that set him at liberty for ransom. Now, under colour and pretext of this ill-will between him and Liddisdale, Athol was so strongly accompanied with his servants and dependants, that the rest being jealous of his disposition, and fearing his present power, did conclude no matter of importance, Robert Stewart inclined towards him, but all the rest favour-

ed the Lord of Liddisdale. Robert was young, and knew not the disposition of Athol, which the rest knew better, and what odds was between them in fidelity, which was not long in discovering; for King Edward of England came with a great army both by sea and land, and brought Baliol with him. As soon as he came to Perth, Athol being solicited to desert Bruce, he was not very hard to woo; whereas Liddisdale did still his utmost endeavours for him. One of the governors, to wit, Robert Stewart, being sick, and the other John Randolph, thinking it too heavy a burden for him alone to fight, divided his forces, that so he might the more annoy the king. Now word was brought to him, that there was a great army of the Guelders coming through England, to join with Edward, and help him against the Scots. Wherefore Randolph passed over into Lothian, to try if he could conveniently intercept them, and cut them off before they should join with the king. There came hither to assist Randolph the governor, Patrick Earl of March, William Lord of Liddisdale, and Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie, and others. These being assembled together, lay in wait for them near Edinburgh, in the Burrow-moor; and as soon as they came in sight one of the other, without any delay of either side, they joined battle, and after a great conflict, the Guelders were put to rout, and chased to a little hill, where was a ruinous castle; there they were besieged all that night, and the next day they rendered themselves, lives safe.

Others write that they fled to the castle-hill of Edinburgh, up St. Mary's wynd or lane, defending themselves valiantly through the High-street, till they came to that place where they slew their horses, and made as it were a rampart of their carcasses, and so saved themselves. There they staid all that night, and having neither meat nor drink, nor convenient lodging, opprest with hunger, cold, and thirst, yielded themselves on the morrow. This narration seems not to be so probable as the former; for if it had been at the castle of Edinburgh, it might have made them more support, at least relieved the duke, and have saved him. Besides, that

the town of Edinburgh should suffer strangers to pass through the midst of them, and neither aid them, if they were friends, nor assail them if they were enemies, nor shut their gates if they were neutral, for fear of some danger to come to their town thereby, but suffer both parties to have free access into their chief street, and to stand as lookers-on, it has no great likelihood. They ascribe also the winning of the field to the Lord of Liddisdale, who was not, as Hollinshed says, present at their first joining battle, but came to it from Pentland-hills in so convenient a time, that if he had not come, the Guelders, who fought exceeding well, had got the day. Others make no mention of Randolph, but of the Lord of Liddisdale, and Alexander Ramsay with him.

Those that write of this battle, tell of a huge and wonderful stroke given by Sir David Annand in his fury, he being hurt, struck his enemy on the shoulder with a pole-ax, and clave him and his horse down to the hard pavement in which the force of the stroke left a great mark long after. And no less memorable is the valour of a woman in the Guelders army, who, at the beginning of the battle, stepped forth before her company, and encountered, in a single combat or duel, a Scottish squire named Robert Shaw, whom she slew, and afterwards beat down her enemies on each side, till at last, after a good time, she was compassed about, and so slain. The Duke of Guelders their captain having yielded, was courteously and honourably used, his stuff and baggage was restored to him, and himself set free. The reason of this was, because Randolph Earl of Murray having been bred in France, knew that the French king loved him; and, therefore, to gratify him, he shewed him this favour, to let him go without any other hurt or damage; only he made him swear he should never aid the English again against the Scots. This same author says that this was not the Duke of Guelders, but the Earl of Namur, called Guy, contrary to all our writers, who, with one consent, say that it was. And if it were Guy of Namur, he had always been an enemy, and received greater courtesy than enemies deserve, and more fa-

your than was expedient for the country: nay, Randolph was not content to dismiss him free only; but would needs, for his safety, accompany him to England; in which journey they were suddenly set upon by the Lord Percy, and the Englished Scots, who had dressed an ambuscade for them, and there Randolph was taken, and the Lord Liddisdale hurt in the leg. The governor was carried to the two Edwards that lay before Perth; which town was thereupon soon after rendered unto him.

Upon this success of the usurper's faction, Athol, very glad of what had fallen out, accounting the prize now won, and following forth his fraudulent policy, revolted again to the usurping kings, thinking it safest to side with the strongest, and did now clearly show how worthy he was of that favour bestowed on him by Robert Stewart, who at the convention at Perth, had appeared on his side against the Lord of Liddisdale. And not only did Cuming come into them, but undertakes also the government of Scotland once more as lieutenant for the English, promising to root out all these of contrary part that should stand out, and would not acknowledge their authority. The king of England, partly for want of victuals, which were put out of the way by the governor, partly because of his journey into France, which he was then projecting, returned into his own country, and took along with him Baliol, who had the name of a king, but was indeed a very slave to another man's affection, for a vain and empty title; a just reward for his foolish trusting to a stranger, in prejudice of his country.

Athol being willing to do what he had said to the Edwards, that he might approve his service and fidelity unto them, whereby he proved also false to his lawful king, and late benefactors, his so friendly enemies, who had not only pardoned him so lately, and saved his life, but trusted him so far, and committed so much to him, left no kind of cruelty unpractised, that he could against his country, so far, as that almost the whole nobility relented, and became slack and remiss against him, or did yield unto him, having forgotten their du-

ty. But behold the reward of such wisdom, and the due fruit of such seed as he had sown; a fruit that is often reaped of such seed, if men would believe and observe it, though the present appearance, the first buds and blossoms of things do blind their eyes, and makes them choose that which should not be chosen, which is unacceptable to man, and not past over by God, as is seen in this man, before the year be fully expired: for Robert Stewart being sick, and Randolph a prisoner, there were left but three noblemen who stuck fast, and were faithful to their king and country. These were William Lord of Liddisdale, Patrick Earl of March, and Andrew Murray, who had been governor. They were so constant, that no promises could corrupt their fidelity, nor no threatening nor danger could quell their courage, so as to bow their hearts to any English servitude. Some add unto these the Earl of Ross, and William Lord Keith. These did greatly hate his unnatural dealing against his country, and treachery against his promise, and cruelty joined withal; three things ever odious and hateful to honest minds. Wherefore, understanding that he lay at the siege of the castle of Kildrummy, they levied such companies and number of men as they could get, and marched towards him. Cuming being advertised hereof, raised the siege, and meeteth them in the fields within the forest of Kilbane, there they fought it very hardly, and Cuming being more in number, had overthrown them, as it is thought, but that John Craig captain of Kildrummy, issuing forth with three hundred fresh men, restored the battle, which was almost lost, and gave them an undoubted victory, which when Cuming perceived, being conscious of his own ill deserving, that he might not fall into his enemies hands alive, he rushed into the midst of the battle, and so was slain: Sir Robert Menzies fled to the castle of Kenmuir, saith Boetius, who saith also that Alexander Gordon was he that slew Athol; but others attribute it to the Lord of Liddisdale himself, who for that cause, and for the slaughter of Sir Thomas Menzies, it may be they mean Sir Robert, at the castle of Lochindores, in the sheriffdom of

Banff, was rewarded with the Earldom of Athol, and is so stiled in the resignation, by which he surrenders it again some four years after, viz. 1341, the 16th of February, in favour of Robert Stewart, great steward of Scotland, whereof the evidence is yet extant in the register. There died in this battle, besides Athol, Walter Braid and Robert Cuming, and a great number of others, both gentlemen and commons. Sir Thomas Cuming was taken prisoner, and the next day, being the first of January, he was beheaded. They were not above 1000, or, as some write, 500 choice men against 3000, yet the event was, as we have said, favourable to the just and right cause. This battle was fought the last of December, 1337. By this blink of fair weather in such a storm of foreign assaults, things were again somewhat changed, and the Brucians encouraged: wherefore, that they might have some face of a settled estate and government, they choose Andrew Murray regent, as he had been before his captivity. He went into the north, and in the mean time the Lord of Liddisdale, with a company of chosen men, passeth over into Fife, and besieged the castle of St. Andrews, Falkland and Leuchars; all which he took in with small difficulty, by his wisdom and manhood, though they were strongly manned, and well fortified, and furnished with ammunition and victuals. Major referreth this to the time after the governor came back out of the north. After this, he returned into Lothian to his old haunt in Pentland-hills to wait his time, and watch the English that lay in Edinburgh castle, that he might slip no occasion of troubling and molesting them. At last this occasion did happen; the town being full stuffed with a great number of soldiers, both English and Scots: there was a Scotchman amongst them of a stout stomach, named Robert Phanderghest, whose lot was fallen to be on that side, but his heart was with the other party, and he carried no great good will to the English. This being perceived, he was the worse treated by them; so that one day his head was broken by the marshall Thomas Knaveton, whereat taking indignation, he sought all means to be avenged thereof, and so brought it to

pass that he shortly after slew him; and to avoid the danger of punishment, fled to the Lord of Liddisdale, whom having informed of the negligence that was grown among the English, he persuaded him to take advantage of their sloth; he, nothing slack in a business of that nature, went secretly in the night to the town, and slew four hundred of them in their sleep and drunkenness, before they could make any resistance.

About this time Murray the regent died after he had brought back all the northern parts of Scotland to his prince's obedience, excepting Perth, a great loss for his country, and he greatly regreted: but no loss is without some gain. Robert Stewart had now recovered his health, who was the other governor; and, as some write, he assumed the Lord Liddisdale for his colleague; whether that where so or not, and whatever his place and name was, he was a notable adjunct to Robert Stewart, and under his authority performed much good service, and profitable to king and country, with great hazard of his life, by receiving of many wounds, while he did assail and vanquish greater numbers with far fewer; so that by his prowess and singular valour, he reduced Tiviotdale, Nithsdale, Anandale, and Clydesdale, except the Hermitage, to the king's obedience, having expelled from thence all the English. These lands and strengths were lost again after the battle of Durham, and recovered again the second time by William the first Earl of Douglas, which we have inserted here, lest men inconsiderately should confound and mistake the one William for the other.

By these doings his name came to be spread throughout the whole island, insomuch that Henry Lancaster Earl of Derby hearing thereof, and being himself a valiant man, and desirous of glory, provoked him to fight with him hand to hand on horseback: but at their first encounter, the Lord of Liddisdale's hand was so sore wounded with his own spear,* which brake hard at his hand, that he was not able to prosecute the combat, whereupon it was delayed. Major maketh mention

* Andrew Winton says, that it was the Earl of Derby's spear.

of his justing, and joineth Alexander Ramsay with him at Berwick: he telleth also of one Patrick Graham, who being provoked and challenged by an Englishman into the field, told him he was content; but wished him to dine well, for he would send him to sup in paradise, which he also did. Hereupon he condemns these justs and duels in time of peace, so that it would seem there has been some peace or truce; but we hear not of any, I do rather think there hath been some assurance at that time.

That same year the King of England sent a very valiant knight named Sir Thomas Barclay, into Scotland, with a great power of men, to assist their faction. Robert Stewart and the Lord Liddisdale go against him, and gave him battle at Blackburn, where the Lord of Liddisdale fought so eagerly, that all his men being slain, he and Robert Stewart having only three left with them, continued still fighting, and defended themselves till night, which being come on, by favour thereof they escaped, and saved themselves by flight.

It was not long before he recompensed this loss, by the defeating of John Stirling and his company. This Stirling with 500 men assaulted the Lord Liddisdale at unawares, at a place called Cragens, having but forty in his company, as he was journeying without any fear or suspicion of an enemy. This put him into a great fear at first, but he recollecting himself out of that sudden affright, fought so valiantly that he defeated Stirling, slew fifty of his men, and took forty prisoners.

Afterward the English that lay at Crichton made divers onsets and incursions upon him, in one of which he was run through the body with a spear, and was thereby disabled to do any service for a season.

So soon as he was recovered, being accompanied with twenty men only, he set upon sixty English, at a place called *The black Shaw*, and having wisely taken the advantage of the ground, which was fitter for foot than horsemen, he slew and took them every one.

In the same year, 1338, the 24th of December, or, as

others, the 2d of November, he set upon the convoy of the English that were carrying victuals to the castle of Hermitage, as they were in Melross, or near to it, and defeated them, but not without great slaughter of his own men; and so having got the victuals, he went and besieged the castle of Hermitage, took it, and did victual it with the same victuals which he had taken at Melross.

He vanquished also Lawrence Vauch, alias Rolland Vauch, a very valiant man, with a great company of Englishmen.

And in the year following, 1339, he fought five times in one day with Lawrence, or William Abernethie, a leader under Baliol, and having been put to the worse four times, saith Hollinshed, Boetius, five times, at the sixth time vanquished him, and slew all his men, and took himself prisoner, and thereafter presented him to Robert Stewart, who sent him to the castle of Dumbarton. For these, and such other exploits atchieved by him, he was highly esteemed of all men, and got the name which is commonly used of him, *The Flower of Chevalry*.

He was after this sent ambassador into France, to inform King David of the state of the realm, and to confer with him about weighty matters, being either chosen for his worth, or only sent by Robert Stewart as his colleague, and so fittest for that employment. While he was there he obtained pardon of the King of France, and peace for one Hugh Hambel a famous pirate.

During his absence in France, Robert Stewart had laid siege to St. Johnston in the year 1339, and had divided his army into four squadrons, under four chief captains; each captain commanding a part, of which he himself was one, the Earl of March another, William Earl of Ross the third, and Magnus Mowbray, Lord of Clydesdale, the fourth. It was divers times assaulted, but they were repulsed with loss, it being valiantly defended by the English that were within. They had lain at it ten weeks without doing any good, and were now almost quite out of hope to take it; so that they began to think of leaving off, when, in the very mean time, the

Lord Liddisdale arrives on Tay; having brought with him out of France, Hambel the pirate, with five ships well furnished with men, ammunition and weapons. These men the Lord Liddisdale had hired in France in purpose for this business: amongst them were two knights of the family of Castle-Galliard, and two Esquires, Giles de la Hayes, and John de Breise. He landed a part of the soldiers, and left the rest in the ships to keep the mouth of the river, and he himself marched to Coupar in Fife to take it. It had been deserted by the Englishmen for want of victuals in the time of Murray the governor, and now again it was seized by the Englished Scots for the use of the English. Their captain at this time was one William Bullock an English priest, but a valiant man, who was also treasurer for them and the faction. The Lord Liddisdale deals with him, that seeing there was no hope of succour from England, and that the Scots garrison was not to be trusted to, he would forsake the English faction, and enter into King David's service, promising to procure him lands in Scotland. Bullock accepted his offer, and having obtained his promised lands, he did much service afterward to the king and the Lord of Liddisdale. Having by this means recovered Coupar, he returned to the siege of St. Johnston, where, as he was ever forward, he was hurt in the leg with the shot of a cross-bow, going to the scalade, nevertheless he departed not till the town was taken, or given up by the governor thereof Thomas Uthred. The manner of the taking of it was this: when the siege had lasted four months, and was like to have continued longer, the Earl of Ross, by digging of mines, drew away the water, and dried up the fosses and ditches; so that the soldiers going to the assault upon dry ground, and approaching the walls without any let or difficulty, beat the defenders from off the walls, especially by shooting of darts and arrows out of the engines which they had caused make; and so they rendered, and departed with bag and baggage in the year 1340.

Within four days after Stirling was also besieged, and rendered on the same conditions.

After the siege of St. Johnston was ended, the Lord Liddisdale rewarded the Frenchmen very liberally, and sent them back into France well contented. He caused also restore to Hugh Hambel one of his best ships, which was taken by the enemy during the siege; for Hambel having adventured to approach the town with his ships to give an assault, one of them was taken by the English, and now was restored.

Thus King David's party did flourish by the faithful valour of these his good and notable subjects, and prevailed against the pretended King Baliol, who seeing such success in King David's affairs, durst show his face no longer; but having lurked a while in Galloway, by changing and shifting places for fear of being intercepted, and wearying of that kind of life, he returns into England now the second time after his conquest: he did not possess his kingdom long: and but with little ease or contentment, what by the king of England, his good master, detaining of him little better than a captive: a shadow of a kingdom, or slavery rather, being miserable indeed, yet sees he not his misery, but seeketh it again, and loseth it again.

But let us return to our Lord of Liddisdale, who desists not here from doing of good service to his king and country. Edinburgh castle is yet in the possession of the English, it was too strong to force; wisdom must supply, which was not lacking in him, no more than valour, a good harmony, and happy conjunction, which were ever to be wished. There was one Walter Towers, of whom are descended the Towers of Innerlieth, a man of his acquaintance, and a follower of him, had by chance a ship laden with victual in the Frith of Tay beside Dundee, Liddisdale causeth him to bring about his ship to Forth, where, as he was instructed, feigning himself to be an English merchant, and sending some flagons of very fine wine to the captain of the castle, he prayed him to take him into his protection, and that he would give such order as the rest of his victual might be free from all danger and peril of his soldiers, and of the enemy; promising that if the garrison in the castle had need of any thing, he should com-

mand any thing that was in his power, so far as it could reach. The captain desired him to send some hogshheads of the same wine, and some biscuit-bread, and promised him access when he pleased: he further warned him, that he should come timely in the morning, for fear of the Scots, that did make frequent onsets and incursions in those parts. The Lord of Liddisdale being advertised hereof, chooseth out twelve of his best men, and the same night goeth out to Walter Tower's ship, and he and his men having borrowed the mariners apparel, did put it on above their armour, and so went to the castle, carrying the wine and victual with them. He had before placed the rest of his men as near as he could, that they might be in readiness, upon a sign given them, to come to the castle to his aid. Liddisdale himself, with Simon Fraser and William Bullock, (say our writers, but his name was Sir John Bullock) went a little before, and the rest followed a certain space after. When they were let in within the bulwark, perceiving the keys of the castle hanging upon the porter's arm, they slew him, and without noise opened the gate, and presently gave the signal, by winding of a horn. This sound gave warning both to his friends and enemies, that the castle was taken: both made haste, the one to defend, the other to pursue; but the Scots having a steep hill to ascend, behoved to come forward the more slowly; for that cause, lest their Lord should be excluded from his men, they cast down the carriage in the gate to keep it open, and having fought a sharp fight, at last they that were within gave place: the captain with six more were taken, the rest were all slain: and having thus won the castle, he made his brother William Douglas* (say they, but should call him Archibald) keeper and captain thereof.

This same year, or the next, 1342, the 30th of March, Alexander Ramsay took Roxburgh in Tiviotdale, and soon after John Randulph was set at liberty in exchange for John

* Our Historian is right, for he had a brother designed in charters, *Williamus Douglas, senior, frater ejus*.

Montague taken in France, saith Major, and took his own castle of Lochmaben in Annandale.

So that by the industry and efforts of these three wardens, the Lord Liddisdale, in the middle march, Alexander Ramsay in the east, and John Randolph in the west, the English were wholly expelled out of Scotland beyond the borders, which happened in the time of Edward III. neither did the Englishmen possess one foot of Scottish ground, excepting the town of Berwick. Such good service did these noblemen, with the other good nobility, in the minority and absence of their prince from his country, against the great force of England, and a great part of their own country of Scotland, being unfaithful subjects, unnatural Scotchmen; and this these nobles did, even for the love they bore to King Robert, this David's father, bearing the heat of the day for him, while he is at ease and security, with watching, hunger, thirst, cold, and great effusion of their blood, to make the kingdom peaceable to him, choosing to adventure their lands, their lives, and whatsoever worldly thing is dear unto men, rather than to abandon him, and follow his enemies with ease and quietness, under whom they might have lived a peaceable life, if they would set aside regard unto their honour and duty.

Such is the force of the love of subjects, beyond all strength of men and riches of treasures, only able to endure a stress and hold out, as may be seen by this example to be remarked greatly by subjects, and entertained above all treasure by sovereigns, and to be accounted a chief, yea almost the only point of true policy, to love and make much of all men, and especially their nobility, that they may in such their prince's straits, when they shall happen, endure the better as these men did, which they could not have done, if they had not had authority and dependence, and been so respected by their inferiors, whoever would diminish this authority in noblemen, abasing them too far, and making them suspect to princes, and not safe for them, they err greatly in policy, and unadvisedly cut the props of the prince's standing, which being

brangled but a little, his kingdom is easily bereft him, all authority going away with his own person. It fell well out with King David Bruce that these noblemen were not so, and therefore the more able to do great things for him.

After these things they sent ambassadors to desire King David to come home, and so he did the 2d of June that same year. His first act was carefully to inquire for, and gratefully to reward such as had suffered in his service; a prudent act: but alas, the *malheur*, it falleth often out, that princes know not all things, and before they be informed, they many times conclude: the cause of many errors and much mischief has happened thereby, as it fell out here. We have heard how the Lord Liddisdale, among many of his notable services, had in particular expelled the English out of Tiviotdale, and diverse other places, by his wisdom and valour, and was therefore rewarded with the same lands which he enjoyed afterwards as his rightful inheritance: from thenceforth he so used it, as in a manner conquered by himself. He was warden, and so defended it, defending ministry justice, and discharged the place and office of sheriff, having won it from the enemy. This he did with the tacit consent of the country, and by allowance of those that were in authority.

Thus being in possession, and trusting to his deserving towards his king and country, and the nobility of his blood, and potency of that house he was come of, he looked for no competitor in that which he had taken from the enemy; and not knowing, or not caring for the law, as is customary to martial men, or perhaps being prevented, being slower in going to King David, or on some such like occasion, the sheriffship is given from him to another. Alexander Ramsay was amongst the first that welcomed King David at his return, and was received kindly as he had merited, and much made of by him, who for his service gave him the keeping of the castle of Roxburgh, and together with it (whether of the king's own free and mere motion, or any other suggestion, or by Ramsay's procurement) the sheriffship of Teviotdale; very unadvisedly, if he knew Liddisdale's interest,

very ill formed if he knew it not; very imprudently, say our writers, who blame the king's indiscretion for giving it from William Douglas Lord of Liddisdale, to Alexander Ramsay, and for withdrawing of it from so worthy a man, so well deserving to whomsoever, for that was to make a division among his own: so it proved, for William Douglas of Liddisdale took it very highly that Alexander Ramsay should be preferred before him to that office; but he was chiefly incensed against the taker of it, as having done him a great indignity, which makes it apparent, that he hath not only accepted of it, but sued for it; therefore, set altogether on revenge, he suppressed his anger for the present; but after some three months, as Alexander Ramsay was exercising the office in Hawick, and looked for no such thing, he set upon him, and having slain three of his men that stood to the defence of their master, he hurt him, and casting him on a horse, carried him to the Hermitage, where he died of famine, according to the testimony of sundry of our writers, and the black book of Scoon, where it is shewn that he was taken the 20th of June, and kept seventeen days without meat, save that some few grains of corn, which, falling down out of a corn-loft which was above him, were gathered by him and eaten.

Such is the unbridledness of anger, justly called fury, to be greatly blamed in him; yet they mark the cause thereof, the king's unadvisedness, in procuring thereby the loss and ruin of so worthy a man of war, far from his father's prudence and probity. The king, not yet acquainted with military dispositions, was marvellously moved therewith, and intended to have punished it exemplary, to deter others from doing the like; and therefore caused search very diligently to have apprehended Liddisdale, but in vain, for he withdrew himself to the mountains and desert places, and in time obtained pardon by the suit of his friends, of whom he had purchased good store by his worthy acts for the liberty of his country, among whom Robert Stewart, the king's sister's son, was his special good friend. That which most effectually served to procure him favour, was the magnific, but true commemoration of

the great exploits achieved by him, the consideration of the time, in respect whereof (the peace being uncertain without, and things not very quiet at home) military men were to be entertained, and used with all favour. By this occasion he did not only obtain pardon for his fault, but he got also the gift of keeping of the castle of Roxburgh, and sheriffship of Teviotdale, (and all other of his lands in Teviotdale, or elsewhere, restored to him) which the other had, and which were the cause of the slaughter. This clemency of King David was perhaps profitable for that time, but pernicious in example: this fell out, as hath been said, three months after the king's coming home; and therefore in October, or perhaps in September, at the head court in Hawick, his pardon was obtained, and his peace made with the king a little before the battle of Durham, which was in the year 1346, the 17th of October; so that he was three or four years a banished man.

After his return from banishment, finding the king bent upon his journey against England, he wisely and earnestly dissuaded him, and did exhort him first to take order with the disorders at home, and before all things to settle them: for the Earl of Ross had slain the Lord of the Isles, whereby a great party of the king's army was diminished, the Lord of the Isles' men lying back for want of a head, and so the Lord Ross and his men for fear of punishment. So did also many others that lay near them, retire and go home, fearing lest they should suffer in their absence by their neighbourhood to those disagreeing lords, and be some way damaged; wherefore they thought good to provide in time, the best they could, against all perils that might happen: for this cause he counselled the king, first to settle peace with his own subjects before he enterprized a foreign war; that, peace being settled, and his army united, he might the more strongly and with better success invade England. But the king contemning his good and wholesome counsel, (his French friendship prevailing more with him than either his own good or the good of his country) he raised an army wherewith he entered England, and was encountered by the English at Durham, where the

Scots were defeated, King David Bruce taken prisoner, and with him, beside others, William Earl of Douglas and the Lord of Liddisdale, who were shortly after ransomed or dismissed, so much the more easily, for that they had the king, and so cared the less for others. This fell out in the year 1346, October the 17th, as hath been said.

While the Lord Liddisdale was a prisoner among his enemies, he did not forget his friends at home. Sir David Barclay had slain one John Douglas, brother to Sir William, and father to Sir James of Dalkeith, (say our writers) besides Horsecwood; but they should say rather, brother to Sir William, for there Sir William is the same Lord of Liddisdale, of whom we now speak, natural son to good Sir James; neither was John Douglas slain in Horsecwood, but in Kinrosshire, by Lochlevin. This Barclay also had taken Sir John Bullock at the king's command, and put him in prison in Lindores, where he died of hunger almost in the same sort that Sir Alexander Ramsay died. The writers lay the blame on the nobility that envied so worthy a man, and accused him falsely to the king of unfaithfulness; but they tell not what point. They themselves call him a worthy chaplain, of great wisdom, singular prudence and eloquence, beyond any in his time, who had been chamberlain to Edward Baliol, treasurer to the rest of the Englishmen in Scotland, and lastly, chamberlain to King David, and amongst the chief of his counsellors reputed as another Hushai. Nevertheless, thus was he delated and taken away, having done divers good offices in the common-wealth, and being very necessary unto it. The Lord of Liddisdale had drawn him from the English faction to King David's party, and he had used him in good services, whereof he was not forgetful, ever remaining one of his special friends. This giveth men matter of suspicion, that his death was for ill-will to the Lord of Liddisdale by the king incensed against him, never disgesting in heart the death of Sir Alexander Ramsay, whereby the king is blamed, as counselor or follower thereof; and that Sir David Barclay, enemy to him, did execute it willingly, or did procure the king's

command thereto. The taking of the castle of Edinburgh, in the year 1341, by the Lord of Liddisdale, was plotted by Sir John Bullock, say the writers, who in quickness of wit, and sharpness of invention, past all men in his days. In revenge of this, Liddisdale causeth slay Sir David Barclay, by the hands of Sir John St. Michael, (say they) but they should have said, Carmichael in Aberdeen. A just fact, but not justly done: the matter was good, the form ill, being beside and against all order: but who could wait for order in so disordered a country? When should he by order of law have obtained justice, his prince being in captivity? His duty to his friends defendeth the fact; the state of the country excuseth the form. God looketh not so upon things: he had before (as we have heard) slain Sir Alexander Ramsay, he must not want his own share; but who durst do it? The avenger of blood finds means. Such is the state of man, what can they lean to on earth? Before he do not pay that debt of blood, the Earl of Douglas shall exact it; his chief, his cousin, and to add that also, his own son in baptism, as the Lord of Liddisdale was to the Earl of Douglas, for the black book of Scoon calleth him his *spiritual father*; and thus it came to pass.

The Lord of Liddisdale being at his pastime, hunting in Etrick-forest, was beset by William Earl of Douglas, and such as he had ordained for that purpose, and there assailed, wounded and slain beside Galsewood in the year 1353, upon a jealousy that the Earl had conceived of him with his lady, as the report goeth; for so says the old song:

The Countess of Douglas out of her bower she came,
And loudly there that she did call;
It is for the Lord of Liddisdale
That I let all these tears down fall.

The song also declareth how she did write her love letters to Liddisdale, to dissuade him from that hunting. It tells likewise the manner of the taking of his men, and his own killing at Galsewood, and how he was carried the first night

to Lindin Kirk, a mile from Selkirk, and was buried within the abbacy of Melross.

The pretended cause of this slaughter, is by our writers alleged to be the killing of this Alexander Ramsay and Sir David Barclay, and some other grudges; and so the Earl said himself, as they say: and so it was indeed, if we look unto God. But who doth believe him, that it was on his part? No writers, no report, no opinion of men doth believe it, even to this day. They lay the cause on his ambition, on his envy of Liddisdale's honour, and jealousy of his greatness. Reason sways to the same side, and brings great if not necessary arguments: for what had he to do with Alexander Ramsay, that he should for his sake dip his hands in his own blood? Far less for Sir David Barclay, on whom he himself should have taken vengeance, if the Lord Liddisdale had not done it; this John Douglas whom Barclay slew being so near to himself: but something must be said to colour things. But this will not colour this blemish, though in a fair body, indeed as we shall see hereafter. Doth ambition spring from a great mind? Doth envy, of virtue? Jealousy, of hatred? Let noble hearts avoid them; it is the basest thought that can fall into a man's mind. Right minds love virtue, even in strangers, even in enemies; generous minds strive to do better, not to hinder such as do well. It is a strange maxim and ill-grounded, a wicked wisdom and perverse policy, to keep back one's friend in whom virtue appears. It is the greatest of follies, to hinder their growth, for fear they should overgrow our greatness; which when we do, it comes to pass that we are overgrown by strangers, and often by our enemies; yea undermined oftentimes, while our friends thus kept under are unable to underprop us, as they both should and would do; a just reward to so unjust wisdom. But for themselves to put hand in them for their worth, I can find no name to it. I must wish this nobleman had been free from so foul a blot, and I would fain vindicate him; and some small appearance there is that it was not his deed: but the current of witnesses lay it upon him; and who can con-

tend against all the world? Wherefore let us regret it, and not allow it; avoid it, and not excuse it or follow it, as we are too ready to follow evil examples.

Thus he lived, and thus he died, for whose eulogium, short but worthy, let it be said, as it was then blazed in the mouths of men, and cited by the manuscript, *He was terrible and dreadful in arms; meek, mild and gentle in peace; the scourge of England, and sure buckler and wall of Scotland; whom neither hard success could make slack, nor prosperous slothful.* He is stiled by the writers, *A Second to none*; and by consent of that age, and voice of the people, *The Flower of Chevalry.* He was often wounded, thrice a prisoner, and ever ready to fight again. What manhood, what wisdom behoved it to be, with fifty men, to overcome five hundred; with twenty, to take and slay sixty? What invincible mind was it, that being defeated five times in one day, he had the courage to fight and overcome the sixth time? Let Hannibal wonder at Marcellus, that neither overcoming nor overcome, would suffer him to rest: yet was he not thus restless, that we read of; a worthy branch of such a stock, a true member of such a house, well retaining that natural sap, sucked from his predecessors, of valour, and of love to his country. And thus far concerning the name of *Douglas* in this branch thereof, in the time of the minority or absence of the chief. Now let us return to the principal stock, the Earl of Douglas.

Gulielmus Douglassius Liddalianus, 1333, *cæsus.*

Omnia quando habeas, quæ Mars dedit omnibus, unus,

Ut Mars Marte ferox fulminet alta tuo;

Hoc patere ut patiare parem: tibi defuit unum hoc.

Quin age, posce hostem: cætera solus habes.

In English thus,

Whilst thou alone all valour didst enjoy,
Mars doth bestow on those he would employ.

One only virtue wanting, doth appear,
To make thee excellent: thou couldst not bear
An equal. Bate this pride, and thou shalt have
This honour, Never soldier was more brave.

*Of WILLIAM the Fifth of that Name, the Tenth Lord,
and First Earl of DOUGLAS.*

UNTO Hugh the ninth Lord of Douglas, did succeed his nephew William, son to Archibald Lord of Galloway, and governor of Scotland, who was slain at Halidon-hill. Of this William the other great branch of Douglasses doth spring; to wit, the house of Angus, which overtopped the rest, and at last succeeded unto the place of the stock. It was he also that raised the house to the dignity of an Earldom, and greatly increased the state thereof. That he was son to Archibald, and not to Sir James, as some do mistake it, is clear by divers confirmations, in which Sir James is expressly termed his uncle, and Archibald his father: and so doth the charter witness, upon which the confirmation proceeds. The charter is given by Hugh Lord Douglas, brother and heir to the late Sir James Douglas, to William son and heir to Archibald, brother to good Sir James Douglas. It is dated at Aberdeen the 28th of May 1342. The king's charter likewise cleareth it, bearing, *David Dei gratia, &c. Scialis nos concessisse, &c. Gulielmo Domino de Douglas*, saith the one; *Confirmasse dilecto, et fideli nostro Gulielmo de Douglas militi*, saith the other, *omnes terras redditus, et possessiones, per totum regnum nostrum, de quibus quondam Jacobus Dominus de Douglas avunculus suus, et Archibaldus de Douglas pater suus milites obierunt vestiti.*

Concerning his marriage, we find that he had three wives: the first was Margaret, daughter to the Earl of Dunbar and March; by whom he had two sons,* James slain at Otterburn, and Archibald called the *grim*, Lord of Galloway and afterwards Earl of Douglas; and one daughter married to the Lord

* This is a mistake, for in a charter granted by Margaret Countess of Douglas and Earl of Mar, he is expressly said to be her son. This charter is in the Cartulary of Aberdeen, p. 24.

of Montgomery. His second wife was Margaret Mar, daughter to Donald or Duncan Earl of Mar, and afterwards heir and inheritrix to that Earldom: for this Duncan had but one son named Thomas, and this Margaret: Thomas was twice married; by his first marriage he had one only son, named Thomas also: this second Thomas was married to Marjory sister to this William Earl of Douglas, but died without issue; his father Thomas married a second wife, Margaret Stewart, who was inheritrix of the Earldom of Angus, but he had no children by her: so that there being none now left of Duncan's race but this Margaret Mar, married to the Earl of Douglas, we find him stiled Earl of Mar in his wife's right, in the year 1378, whereof divers monuments and evidences yet extant do bear witness. By this Margaret Mar he had one only daughter Isabel Douglas, who did succeed to the Earldom of Mar. She was twice married; first, to Malcolm Lord Drummond, by whom she had no children; secondly, to Alexander Stewart son to the Earl of Buchan, brother to King Robert III. but had no children by him neither; yet she did resign the Earldom in his favour, as appears by a charter given thereupon by King Robert III. to him and his heirs; which failing, unto her and her heirs. Thirdly, the Earl of Douglas, after the decease of Margaret Mar, took for his third wife Margaret Stewart, daughter to Thomas Stewart Earl of Angus, and his heir and inheritrix of the lands and Earldom of Angus. This Thomas was son to John Stewart, and brother to Walter Stewart, the great steward of Scotland, who married Marjory Bruce, daughter to King Robert Bruce. Now this Margaret had a brother who died without issue, and a sister called Elizabeth, married to Alexander Hamilton of Cadyow. Margaret Stewart herself was first married to Thomas Mar Earl of the same, and son to Duncan or Donald, but had no children by him. Then she was married to this William Earl of Douglas, by whom she had a son named George. This George succeeded to her in the Earldom of Angus, and by gift of his sister Isabel Douglas in-

heritrix of Mar, he got the lands that she had gotten from her father: which disposition Isabel made to her brother George, and not to James or Archibald, for good considerations to be related at large hereafter, when we shall come to treat of the house of Douglas.

And so we see him very fortunate and honourable in his marriage, in his purchases, and in his children; his honourable mind appears in his deportment to his sister Uterine, whom the writers call *Eleonora de Bruce*, to whom he gives no less than the Barony of Wester Calder *in maritagium* to her; and her heirs whatsoever, with her husband Sir James Sandilands, as the transcript of the charter bears, extracted by James Douglas Lord Dalkeith, April 4th, 1420. The charter itself is not dated, but the giver is clear, *Gulielmus Douglas dominus loci ejusdem*, and Sir James' entail doth clear it, in which he is called Earl of Douglas and Mar. This Eleonora Bruce had to her father Robert Bruce, some call him Alexander, son to Edward, slain in Ireland, and cousin-german to King Robert. He was Earl of Carrick, and after the death of Archibald Lord of Galloway, he married his relict, this Earl's mother, and had by her this lady Eleonora, who, as we have said, was married to Sir James Sandilands. In regard of this marriage, and the donation of these lands, that house of Sandilands gave the coat of the house of Douglas, a heart, and three mullets, which none else hath besides him, except those of the name of Douglas.

This Earl William was bred in France, and, as the manuscript beareth, most part in the wars: his first return to Scotland was before the battle of Durham, some few years, which appears by the forenamed charter given him by his uncle in the year 1342. Touching his actions after his return, the first was a hard entry at the battle of Durham, where the king made many knights, to stir them up to fight valiantly; and first he created William Lord Douglas an Earl. In the morning, being warden, he is sent to view the English camp, and engaged among them before he was aware; he had a number of his men slain, and himself also narrowly escaped.

In the battle (being leader of the van-guard) he was taken, and the king himself likewise, with many others. But his success after this is more fortunate: for the better understanding whereof, let us remember the state of affairs of the country of Scotland at that time.

After King David Bruce was taken prisoner at the field of Durham, the English repossessed themselves of Merse, Tiviotdale, Liddisdale, and Lawderdale: so that their marches were Cockburnspath and Sowtray, and from that to Carnilops, and the Cross-carne. Baliol had got again his old inheritance in Galloway, and wasted Annandale, Nithisdale and Clydesdale, with fire and sword, and had also, with Percy, over-run Lothian: neither could there be an army made up in Scotland to resist him for some few years; so that Baliol behaved himself again as king: but we hear of no obedience he got by the good will of the people. The Scots had chosen Robert Stewart (who was king afterward) to be governor in the king's absence, but no great action is recorded, that he was able to take in hand at such time, and in such a state of his country. The Earl of Douglas being ransomed or dismissed, the more easily, for that they had the king in their power, returned home. Thereafter there fell out a matter very greatly to be lamented, that it should have fallen into the hands of so worthy a person, the killing of the Lord of Liddisdale by the Earl. Let me never excuse such a fact; I may well be sorry for it: but I wonder at this, that the Earl, after his slaughter, should have obtained his whole estate; not only that which he did acquire for his own virtue and valour in the borders, as Liddisdale, with the sheriffship of Roxburgh or Teviotdale, but also those lands which he had got by his wife, as Dalkeith, Newlands, Kilbucho, &c. But being rightly considered, it seems not so strange; for after the Lord of Liddisdale had slain Sir Alexander Ramsay, the king apparently hath never pardoned him from his heart. But being still incensed against him, as may appear in that the king allowed, or rather moved Sir David Barclay in the action of taking and slaying Sir John Bullock, a special friend of the Lord of Lid-

disdale; and for ill-will and spite of him, say our writers, and that his anger being renewed, and increased by the killing of Sir David Barclay; it is possible the king hath been well pleased to hear and know of his ruin; whereupon the Earl of Douglas, there being none so able to do it as he, being his chief and kinsman, having his own particular grudge, was encouraged to make him away; and having done it, hath obtained his lands the more easily. Our histories testify that the house and name of Douglas was divided against itself, pursuing each other for many years together, with much bloodshed, and all upon this occasion. Belike the marriage of the Lord Liddisdale's daughter to Sir James Douglas of Lowden, Kincavel, and Caldercleer, hath been or should have been made in his own time, which hath moved the Douglasses of Dalkeith, Caldercleer, and them of Strabrock to make head against the Earl, as those who did most resent that slaughter. But at last the Earl (as commonly remorse cometh after blood) repenting, or at the intercession of friends, gives the lands of Dalkeith, Newlands and Kilbucho, to Mary, daughter to the Lord of Liddisdale, by resignation in favour of her, as is extant in our public register, to regain the favour and dependence of his friends that were alienated from him, retaining Liddisdale and his other border lands and offices in his own person: for we find in the register James Douglas son to William Earl of Douglas and Mar, stiled Lord of Liddisdale, in a letter of pension of 200 merks sterling granted to him by King Robert, the first of the Stewarts.

His first care was to deliver his own inheritance from the English bondage; for which purpose having gathered together a company of his friends: he recovered Douglasdale from them, having slain and chased them every man out of it: then encouraged with this success, the favour of his country people increasing towards him, and greater companies drawing to him: he expelled them also out of Etrick-Forrest and Tweedale, and the greatest part of Tiviotdale.

At that time John Copland, I know not whether it were he that had taken King David at the battle of Durham, or some

other of that same name, was captain of the castle of Roxburgh, and seeing that the Earl of Douglas did so prevail against his countrymen, gathered together a great company of them, and went forth to oppose him, but was quickly put to flight, and constrained to retire to the said castle again.

Thus having repressed and ejected the English out of those parts of Scotland, he, not contented therewith, resolveth to invade them in their own country; wherefore he, accompanied with the Earl of March, his own father-in-law, and having gathered together a great power of men, as privately and as secretly as he could, he marched towards England. They sent William Ramsay of Dalhousie before, and gave him order to burn Noram, and to spoil the country about, to draw the English upon their host, which lay in ambuscade at a place called Nisbet-moor. Ramsay having done his part every dexterously, as he was enjoined, having gathered together a great booty of cattle, made as if he would drive them into Scotland. The English, to recover their goods, pursued him eagerly, and he flying on purpose, drew them into the ambush, where the Scots arising suddenly, set upon them fiercely, and put them to flight with great slaughter: There were taken prisoners, Thomas Gray, and his son, with John Darcy a nobleman, and many others, even the greatest part of them.

After this, being encouraged by their former success, they did enterprise against the town of Berwick and took it by scalade, not without great opposition and resistance, having been discovered by the watches. They had in their company Eugenie Garrantiers, with some forty Frenchmen more, whom John king of France had sent into Scotland a little before, with four thousand crowns, to hire soldiers therewith; and this was all, excepting fair promises; a weak support in so great a strait! And let it be well marked, that men may see how far they err from the truth, that allege that our country and the liberty thereof hath been maintained and upheld by support from France, and not by the valour and industry of the inhabitants. The nobility took the money,

and divided it among themselves, prosecuting the war in their own manner, by frequent incursions and inroads. These forty were present at this exploit, and at other occasions where they behaved themselves valorously. It is said by some that Thomas Stewart Earl of Angus was present at this surprise, and that he had a chief hand in it, as being the man that first broached it, and drew the rest to it by his persuasion: but most authors mention only the two former. There were slain within the town of Berwick, Alexander Ogle governor thereof, Thomas Percy brother to the Earl of Northumberland, and Edward Gray with others: but they could not win the castle, which he held against them; whereupon King Edward coming to rescue it, they being not able to keep the town, rifled it, and then burnt it, and razed the walls thereof in the year 1355. King Edward caused repair it again; and while that was a-doing, he went himself to Roxburgh, where he kept his residence for that time: thither came Baliol, and being wearied, (as may be supposed) of his titular kingdom, resigned all that he had, which was a show, and pretence to it, requesting the king of England instantly that he would avenge him of the injuries done to him by the Scots, who would not acknowledge nor obey him, but had expelled him out of his kingdom: King Edward heard him very willingly; and upon that pretext invaded Lothian by sea and land: but his navy was dispersed and broken by stormy weather, and by land the victual was put out of the way, so that he was constrained to retire home again, after he had poured out his fury upon Edinburgh, Haddington, and other towns in Lothian, which lay in his way. He being gone, the Earl of Douglas passed into Galloway, and partly by force, and partly by persuasion and entreaty, he reduced that whole country to the king's obedience, and caused Donald Macdougall, one of the principal men in Galloway, to take an oath of allegiance and fidelity in the church of Cumnock. Hollinshed attributes this to the Lord of Nithsdale his brother's son, natural son to the Lord of Galloway. He took also by force the castle of Dalswinton and Carlav-

rock, and razed them. Some histories say, they were by composition, and upon agreement by King David himself after his return. At this time also John Stewart, son to Robert the governor, recovered Annandale from the enemy, and Roger Kilpatrick took Disdeir. And even, as before, in their king's minority they had done, so now during his captivity, these his faithful subjects made his enemies to reap but small profit of all their pains, having now again delivered this country from them almost every where. Let it be remarked, as we said before, to the end that kings and princes may think it the best policy that can be to procure and entertain the love and hearty affection of their subjects, and more especially of their faithful nobility.

Shortly after this they write, that the Earl of Douglas went into France with 3000 men, and was made knight of the chiefest order in that kingdom: he was present at the battle of Poitiers; where the field being lost, and John King of France taken prisoner by Edward the black prince, son to King Edward III. the Earl of Douglas escaped very hardly, being rescued by his own men, of whom there were slain Andrew Stewart, Robert Gordon, Andrew Haliburton, and Andrew Vasse knights. Archibald Douglas, natural son to good Sir James, and brother to the Lord of Liddisdale was taken prisoner, and with him William Ramsay of Colluthie, who perceiving that the enemy did not know the said Archibald, nor apprehend him to be a man of any quality, to deceive them the more, he used him as his serving-man, making him to pull off his boots, and do such other drudgery, by which means he was set at liberty for a small ransom.

Now, as these actions of war do shew his valour and love to his country, so likewise there fell out an occasion at home in matter of state policy, which did no less manifest his prudence, magnanimity, and affection to his native soil; which was this, King David being returned from his captivity, after he had spent some five years in settling of the troubles and

affairs of his kingdom, after he had fined such as had fled first at the battle of Durham, and composed such broils and disorders as were amongst his subjects, at last, in the year 1263, he kept a parliament. There he propounded unto the states, that they would give way to the uniting of the two kingdoms of Scotland and England; and seeing he himself had no children, he contented to give way, that Edward of England, or his son might be his successor. Whether he made this proposition, because he did judge it indeed to be most profitable for both kingdoms, so to end all their quarrels and wars, or that he had taken a great liking to the king of England's son, or else that he had been constrained to promise and swear to do it by King Edward, when he was in his power, or some other occasion, it is uncertain. But the motion was so ill taken by all that were there present, that they had no patience to stay till every man's vote were asked in his turn, but altogether with one voice, did cry out with a confused noise and clamour detesting it, and protesting, that so long as they were able to bear arms, they would never give their consent thereunto; that they had one of age to be heir already, whensoever God should call him; especially the Earl of Douglas took it so to heart, that he entered into league with Robert Stewart Earl of Strathern, who was next heir, and was chiefly prejudiced hereby, with Patrick Earl of March, George Earl of Murray his brother, John Stewart of Kyle, afterwards Robert III. and Robert Stewart of Monteith, after Duke of Albany, to withstand and oppose this business to the utmost of their powers, in case the king should prosecute it, and to defend themselves if he would use violence against them. And they were so forward herein, and went so far on in it, that it had almost come to an open rebellion: neither were they reconciled until the king changed his purpose; and then, by the mediation of the prelates of the realm, they desisted and gave their oath of fidelity to him again in the year 1266, having been at variance and jealousy the space of two or three years. The English writers would make it seem to

have been but collusion, and that the king did but propound it, for exoneration of his promise to King Edward, and was glad of the refusal, for that he was not to labour further in it. But our histories signify no such thing, and say directly that he did it sincerely, and was highly offended with the denial for the time, and that those who had refused, looked for the worst, and set themselves for defence; yea, that they went so far, that some of them made incursions upon the towns and villages in the country, to terrify the king, saith Major, and that he might learn to know that the whole kingdom did not altogether depend upon him, but upon the good counsel and mature advice of the nobility. And Boetius writes, that the convention being dissolved, there followed rebellion of some of the nobility; whilst they feared that they had offended the king with their free speeches, determining to enterprise and do somewhat before they should be caused to suffer. Such is the force of jealousy, when it entereth into men's breasts; and therefore it is to be avoided with great care, and the occasions thereof cut off betimes: for it cometh often to pass, that upon such suspicions, when neither party have had an ill meaning, but have been afraid of ill, and sought to prevent it, such inconveniences have followed, as would not have fallen out otherwise; and, therefore, above all things, assurances should be given to counsellors and free-voters, that in their free delivering of their opinions, they shall not offend there; or, if they do suspect they had offended him, the suspicion should be removed betimes, and they put in security. And this King David did in this matter, as the most judicious of our writers say. They that had cried out against it most freely, saith he, hearing that the king was angry, were about to have made defection, whose fear when the king understood, he remitted all wrath, received them immediately into favour. By this wise government, and modesty on all sides, suspicion was taken away; and although he was offended for the time, because they did not yield to his desire, yet afterward he rejoiced greatly, as he certainly had great cause, to see the

true and hearty affections of his subjects to their country, to his own blood, and the house of Bruce, the uprightness, sincerity, and magnanimity, virtues requisite and necessary for counsellors, in resisting even himself for himself, for his own honour and good, which were both greatly interested by this his desire, if he had obtained it; being so prejudicial to his sister and her offspring, who have happily succeeded since, besides the breach of oath to his father, the servitude of his country, subjecting it to strangers, and the stain of his honour for ever, to have been the author of so unworthy a fact. And without all doubt, it was greatly against the security of his own person, in regard of the ambition of his designed successor and heir, King Edward, and his impatience to abide God's leisure, who in a colder hope, had used indirect means to make away Thomas Randolph. What would not that man have attempted for a certain possession? And what miserable case had the person of this good king been in, if he had got his own will? If his will had been accounted as a law by these his subjects. A notable example to counsellors, of freedom, where their prince's good, and the good of their country doth require it; to princes of modesty, in opposition made to that which may be their will for a time, and whereunto for the present appearance they may be very bent. A happy king that can so dispose himself not to be wedded to his own affections only! Or if not so yet happy is he that hath such counsellors, who will resolutely remonstrate the right, and stand to it; by which means he may be brought to examine his own affections, to see the errors of them, and rejoice thereafter that he did not what he most desired. Certainly this king hath rejoiced at it all the rest of his days, living in great quietness some four or five years. There was not any grudge, heart-burning, or suspicion after this between him and any of them; such was the integrity of heart on both sides, and so it should be in reconcilements, otherwise enmities must be perpetual, or would be so, if it were not hoped that the reconciliation would be sincere and entire. Nay, where it is

not so, that peace is worse than any war, and nothing else but a snare to entrap men. King David died in the castle of Edinburgh, in the tower which he himself had caused to be built, and is called from his name David's Tower, in the year 1370, the nine and thirtieth year of his reign, and was buried at Holyroodhouse.

After his decease there was a convention of the states at Linlithgow, to have crowned Robert Stewart, son to Marjory Bruce, King Robert's daughter; thither went the Earl of Douglas, and did claim the crown, where he was so strongly accompanied, that they feared he would have taken it by force, if it were not given to him voluntarily; he alleged that he was to be preferred before Robert Stewart, because his right was derived both from Baliol and Cuming. Now, for the better understanding of his claim, we must remember, that King Alexander III. dying without heirs, the title of the crown was devolved to King David Earl of Huntingdon, brother to the said Alexander's grandfather King William. This David of Huntingdon, as histories relate, had three daughters, Margaret, Isobel, and Alda or Ada; the eldest, Margaret, was married to Allan Lord of Galloway; Isabel, the second, to Robert Bruce, commonly called Robert the noble; the third, Alda or Ada, to Henry Hastings, whose posterity doth still yet happily with good report possess the Earldom of Huntingdon. This Allan Lord of Galloway had by his wife Margaret, eldest daughter to David, two daughters, as is most commonly reported, Dornagilla and Mary; Dornagilla his eldest daughter was married to John Baliol, father to that John Baliol who was afterwards crowned king of Scotland; Mary his second daughter was married to John Cuming Earl of Mar, and by her, Lord of Galloway, called Red John Cuming slain by King Robert Bruce at Dumfries. Some write that this Allan had three daughters, and that the eldest was married to one Roger Earl of Winton, of whom seeing we have no mention in pretension to the kingdom, it is apparent that either there hath been no such woman, or that she hath died

without children. Buchanan says he had three daughters at his death, in the life of Alexander II. also Boetius, in his thirteenth book, fol. 294. saith the same, and calleth this man Roger Quincy Earl of Winton, who, saith he, was made constable for his father-in-law Allan, and continued in that office until the days of King Robert Bruce, and then being forfeited for treason, the office of constable was given to Hay Earl of Errol. He says also that John Cuming did not marry one of Allan's daughters, but one of this Quincy's Earl of Winton, who had married the said Allan's eldest daughter, which is carefully to be remarked. Hollinshed says the same in his chronicle of Scotland, and calleth him Roger Quincy. John Cuming had by Mary his wife one only daughter, called Dornagilla, who was married to Archibald Douglas slain at Halidon-hill, father to this Earl William, of whom we now speak, whereby he was grandchild to Mary, and great-grandchild to Margaret, David of Huntington's eldest daughter, and by consequence reckoning from David of Huntington's daughter, 1. Margaret. 2. Her daughter Mary. 3. Mary's daughter. 4. This Earl William is the fourth person. On the other side, for Robert Stewart, reckoning likewise from the said David of Huntington's daughter, 1. Isabel's son. 2. Robert Bruce Earl of Carrick. 3. His son King Robert. 4. His daughter Marjory. 5. Her son Robert Stewart is the fifth person, which is a degree further than the Earl of Douglas, who was in equal degree with Marjory his mother. This reckoning is not unlike that whereby Robert Earl of Carrick did claim it before when he contended with Baliol; for Bruce was a male, and a degree nearer, equal with Baliol's mother, and this Earl was also the male, and a degree nearer than Stewart, equal with his mother, and besides all this, he was one of the eldest of David's daughters, which Bruce was not. This was the ground of his claim; but finding his pretension evil taken, and disliked by all the nobility, and disputing that which had been decided long before in favour of King Robert Bruce, who had been confirmed king, and to whom Baliol had renounced whatsoever right he could

claim; to whom also, and to his posterity, they all, and Earl William's own predecessors, had sworn obedience, and continued it the whole time of his life, and of his son David the space of sixty-four years.

To which Robert Bruce, and not to David of Huntington, Robert Stewart was to succeed; wherefore the Earl's chiefest friends, George and John Dunbar, Earls of March and Murray, his brothers-in-law by his first wife, and Robert Erskine his assured friend, keeper of the three principal castles in Scotland, Dumbarton, Stirling and Edinburgh, dissuaded him from it; and so he was contented to desist, and joining very willingly with the rest of the nobility, accompanied him to Scoon, and assisted at his coronation, being no less acceptable and commended for his modest acquiescing, than he had been before displeasing for his unseasonable motion: for the which, in token of his good-will, and that he might so much the more tie the Earl to him, the new king bestows two very honourable gifts upon him; his eldest daughter Eupham on the Earl's son James, that failing heirs-male, the crown might so fall to his house; the other benefit was bestowed upon the Earl himself, the marriage of Margaret Stewart Countess of Mar and Angus, daughter and heir to Earl Thomas. This Countess of Mar and Angus did bear to this Earl, George Earl of Angus, that was married to one of King Robert III's daughters, as we shall see in the house of Angus. It is known, that these two lived after from thenceforth in good friendship, as prince and subject, without suspicion, grudge; or eye-list on either party; for neither did the king remember it as an aspiring, whereby to hold a continual suspicious eye over him, neither did he fear the king as jealous of it, or as esteeming that he had suffered wrong in the repulse, nor seeking any means to prosecute it further, laying aside all quarrels with the cause in sincerity on both sides.

This should be the practice of all honest hearts, and is the only means to end all debates, entertain peace, and keep human society, far contrary to this now called wisdom, of diffidence, distrust, jealousy, curbing and keeping under those

with whom we have had any difference, which is the only way to foster variance; and to make enmity eternal; for trust deserveth truth, and moves a man to deserve that trust, and to be worthy of it. Time wins and allures even the wildest minds of men, and also of beasts, even of fierce lions, if it be not a monster in nature, or worse than a monster, one amongst a thousand, which is the only true and solid policy that makes the hearts of men ours; for men must be led by their hearts, and by no other way, and so employed, or else let no man think ever to make any great use of them.

King Robert, after his coronation, made divers Earls and Barons, (or Lords) and Knights, amongst whom James Lindsay of Glenesk was made Earl of Crawford. This same year the peace with England was broken, which had been made with King David at his releasing from captivity for fourteen years, and had now continued not above four or five years only. The occasion of it was this: there is a yearly fair in Roxburgh, and some of the Earl of March's servants going thither, were slain by the English that kept the castle thereof. When the Earl of March craved justice, and could not obtain it, the next year when the fair-day came again, he having gathered a sufficient power of men, invaded the town, slew all the males of any years, and having rifled it, and taken a great spoil and booty, he burnt it to the ground.

We read, that a good while after this the Earl of Northumberland and Nottingham set forward towards Scotland with an army of 3000 men at arms, and 7000 archers, and sent forth Sir Thomas Musgrave with 300 spears, and 300 archers, to Melross, to try what he could learn of the Scots in those parts, with whom the Earl of Douglas encountering, took Sir Thomas himself and 120 prisoners, besides those that were slain.

The same year, 1380, the Earl Douglas entered England with 20,000 men, and went to the fair of Penrith, and having taken all the goods that were there, he burnt the town. Hollinshed in his English Chronicle, speaking of that jour-

ney, in all likelihood, saith, they brought away 40,000 cattle and were assaulted by the way, but came into Scotland with the prey, having lost some few of their men; he says the occasion of it was, because the men of Newcastle had taken a Scotch ship, well known to be a pirate, but very rich, worth £70,000, whereat the Scots being angry, and offended, made this incursion.

About this time the Earl of Douglas entreated for mercy, to James Lindsay Earl of Crawford, who had been banished a certain time before for killing of John Lyon, son-in-law to the king, and chancellor, as some call him, or secretary, as others: he was the first of the name of Lyon, of whom the house of Glamis is descended. This Lyon was a young man, endued with all the natural gifts of body and mind that could be; he was comely in person, well bred, and of a good carriage and winning behaviour, which made him liked of all men, and especially by this James Lindsay, who received him into his train, and made him his secretary: by this occasion being often at court, the king took notice of him, and liking his deportment, and upon Crawford's commendation, took him into his service, and made him his domestic secretary. It fell so out at last, that the king's daughter (by Elizabeth Moor) fell in love with him, and was with child by him, which he revealed to the Earl of Crawford. The Earl fearing that the king would take the matter heavily and heinously, and use the young man hardly, devised this way for his safety: he caused another gentleman of his acquaintance to take the blame on him, and to absent himself as guilty, and then being very familiar with the king, deals with him to bestow his daughter, seeing she had thus fallen, on John Lyon, and to give him the lands of Glamis with her, which was done accordingly; he got also for his coat of arms the flower-de-luce, field argent, and a lion azure, with a double tressure, and a woman's head for his crest. What unthankfulness the Earl of Crawford did find in him afterwards, or did apprehend and conceive, is not particularly set down; but finding his own credit with the king to decrease, and John

Lyon's to increase, and taking Lyon to be the cause thereof, esteeming it great ingratitude after so great a benefit, he took it so highly, and with such indignation, that finding him accidentally in his way a little from Forfar, he slew him very cruelly, and fearing the king's wrath, fled into voluntary exile, and so he remained some years, until, at the Earl of Douglas's intercession, the king suffered himself to be so far entreated, as that he was restored, obtained pardon, and received into the king's favour. What interest the Earl of Douglas had in it, and what friendship with the Earl of Crawford, or what pity of his afflicted state, or commiseration of him, or weighing the cause that brought him to so hard a fate, as great men will regard one another, where they think they have been ill requited by them to whom they have been beneficial, or how necessary the presence of so worthy a man was for the king and country's present state, it is hard to conjecture; but this is clear, that the Earl of Douglas hath been not a little respected and accounted of at that time, seeing at his suit the king consented to forgive the murder of his own son-in-law, and to receive the author thereof into favour.

The year following, which was 1381, there ensued a truce between the two countries for three years; there met for concluding of this truce John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, who was uncle to King Richard II. with some other Lords of the English side; and for the Scots, the Earls of Douglas and March. In the very time of their meeting and treaty, both parties were informed of the insurrection made by Jack Straw in England, and both dissembled the matter until the truce was agreed upon; then, when all was ended, the Earl of Douglas with a generous wisdom, far from that which is now in vogue and request, addressed himself to the Duke of Lancaster, and told him, that from the very first beginning of their conference, he was not ignorant in what state the affairs in England were, but that they were so far from catching hold of any advantage of the time, and from making either of peace or war accordingly, that they had rather consented

to the truce, because of the troubles in England; and for yourself, saith he, if it please you, you may remain here in Scotland until these tumults be settled, or, if you had rather return home, you shall have 500 horse to accompany you, and to set you safe in what place in England you please. The Duke thanked them for their courtesy, but thinking that he needed it not at that time, made no use of either of their offers; but afterwards, being on his journey home, when he found that they shut the gates of Berwick against him, and would not receive him into the town, he came back again, and was conveyed to Holyroodhouse by the Earl of Douglas, and his brother Archibald Lord of Galloway, and remained there till matters were settled in England.

After the truce was expired, Archibald Lord of Galloway, assisted by his brother the Earl of Douglas, and by the Earl of March, won the castle of Lochmaben, as we shall hear in the life of the said Archibald.

Upon this the Duke of Lancaster, by way of revenge, made an incursion upon Scotland, in which having rifled Edinburgh, and wasted the country he returned home; and he being gone, the Earl of Douglas took all the castles and houses of strength in Teviotdale, which the English had kept since the battle of Durham, Roxburgh only excepted, and purged that country of brigands and robbers, who had in time of the war been very licentious and bold.

This was the last work of this nobleman, worthy, say our writers, of his house and predecessors, for he died soon after of a fever in the castle of Douglas, and was buried in Melross abbey, in the year 1384, as they reckon, and is likely, for his son James is stiled Earl in the year 1385, March 20th: of what age he was at his death it cannot be certainly collected, but from his father's death at Halidonhill we have 51 years after he began to come upon the stage, and appear in business, and the affairs of his country, thirty years at least, or forty, since we account that he came home before the battle of Durham.

He was a man, without doubt, of exceeding great val-

our, whom even the English spare not to call one of the most valiant persons in his days within the realm of Scotland; and certainly his actions declare no less, even as they are summarily set down; but if all had been particularly described, with the full circumstances, it would have been far more clear, and not only his valour would have appeared, but his wisdom also, travel and diligence, which he must needs have used in recovering of so many countries and castles, as he is recorded to have won, and in so many years, as he was employed in continual action, ever victorious, without mention of any repulse, overthrow, or evil success where himself was conductor, and, we say, nor elsewhere, except at the battle of Durham. Now all is involved in general, and rolled up in gross, expressing little or nothing of the accidents, or particular ways of his exploits, only they tell us this inroad he made, and these castles he won, and tell the event indeed to have been successful, but no more. This good fortune, as men call it, though it be commended, and commendable in leaders, yet is seldom alone, but accompanied with valour, to which it gives the lustre, and without which he never could have achieved such enterprises.

The love he bore to his country, and to the liberty thereof needs no declaration: those his travels declare it, which could have no other end; chiefly that act of withstanding King David, in bringing in a foreign king, with such resolution, even to the discontentment of his sovereign, to whom otherwise he had been ever most obedient, with the hazard of his person and estate. In which opposition, if we weigh it narrowly, how many virtues do appear? An unspeakable love to his country with such hazard, freedom of mind and uprightness, far from flattery or any dissimulation, not following his prince's humour, or soothing him in his present disposition, but regarding what was most for his good and honour, what best for his country, and what the king was like to acknowledge best for him, when he should be out of that fit. We may also see in it a strange magnanimity and courage in his resolving, as he did without all doubt, to part

with all that the world could afford, and whatsoever is dear to men in the world, rather than not to maintain that which he accounted to be right, his life, lands, dignities, honours, and all such things, both for himself and his posterity: for what was that banding for it, but a plain opposing himself to the power of both the kings (Scots and English) the suitor, and for whom it was suited, who, doubtless, would both have concurred in that cause? And what could the consequence of opposing then be but the loss of his life, lands, and all? or what other hope could he have, and what means to stand it out? The more is his constancy remarkable, that never yielded up that disposition. As for his wisdom, it is included in all these things, and doth shine in all his actions, which without it could not have been performed. Likewise in that favour which was shewn unto him by men, the causes of favour are employed, and such qualities and virtues are apt to gain and procure affection, to wit, gentleness, meekness, sobriety, liberality, and the like; his generosity and courteous humility in his speech, which are the true and only means of acquiring the good-will and hearts of men; his generous mind and courtesousness appeared in his speech and carriage towards the Duke of Lancaster, his justice in pacifying the country, and purging out the thieves: a worthy catastrophe of so well an acted life!

Some may think him ambitious in standing for the crown, but if he thought he had a right, what could he do less? It was no ambition to seek what was his due, and there was as great appearance of right on his side, as might have deceived a better lawyer than he was; yet let it be his ambition, and that he was not so ignorant but that he knew where the title was; have not many dispensed with great duties in that case; and is it not though half duty, not to be over precise in duty, and half justice, not to look too narrowly to justice? *Siziolandum est jus, &c.* If law or lawfulness should be broken, where should it rather be broken than for a kingdom? which is not so much the saying of one man, as the tacit opinion of almost all men, as appears by the approbation of them.

selves, and all others after they have got it. It were to be wished that error were away, and men saw as well the inward thorns as the outward pearls of the diadem, that they might let it lie at their foot, and not take it up, though they might have it for the lifting; but that will be called a stoical philosophy, and even the stoics are thought to have much ado to keep themselves in that moderation; neither do men believe them, when they say they do it in lesser matters, where they may attain them; and what they lack is thought to be for want of power and dexterity to compass and obtain, not of judgement to contemn or neglect. What could the Earl of Douglas then do, who was not so well learned or skilled; who had honour and glory for the great objects of his intentions, which are the objects of these great spirits, and many think it should be so? So that in regard of this common opinion of men, and the instructions of that age, yea of all ages, even of this age almost, in such military men, or politic wise men, who are not pedants, as they call them, or theologues, (to give them the best name men can term them) I think it not so strange that he insisted, as I marvel that he desisted so soon and easily; neither can I so much dispraise his motion, as I have reason to commend his modesty; for his motion, likely, has not been immodestly moved, or too vehemently pressed, that he gave it so soon over; far from the unbridledness of turbulent minds, that would rather have moved heaven and earth, as we say, to have come to their purpose, and have cast themselves, their country, and all, into confusion, and into foreign hands and power; nay, which is more, and worse than merely foreign, into English, our enemies, which would be flat slavery, as both the Baliols, John and Edward, had done before him, and the last of them on no better, nay not so good a ground: wherefore if we will call it ambition, yet certainly it has not been the worst sort thereof, neither unruly nor immoderate, but, by the contrary, very sober and temperate, and such as may well fall, and often doth fall into the best and greatest spirits, that are not brought up and deeply instructed in the inmost and pro-

found points of human and divine philosophy; of which sort how few there be? and how meanly are they accounted of? Let us either think better of them, or find the less fault with him; certainly if he cannot be fully excused, yet can he not be over hardly censured, nor condemned; yea no more condemned for the moving, than praised for the speedy leaving off, and yielding, truly acquiescing, and sincerely obeying in thereafter.

Of JAMES the Second of that Name, the Eleventh Lord and Second Earl of DOUGLAS, slain at Otterburn.

UNTO William the first Earl his son James did succeed, a man in all kind of virtue worthy of so great a father, and honourable place, who was not inferior to him either in courage or fortunateness, unless we account him less fortunate for that he lived but few years; wherefore we shall hear his own judgement at his death.

He had two wives, Euphan eldest daughter to the king, as we have said, by his wife the Earl of Ross's daughter; yet the genealogy of the kings in the Acts of Parliament says, that she was daughter to Elizabeth Moor, and not the Earl of Ross's daughter: he had a son by her, who lived not half a year; he had also two natural sons, William, of whom is descended the house of Drumlanrig, as evidences do witness, (given by *Jacobus Douglas comes de Douglas filio nostro*) and Archibald, of whom is come the house of Cavers, sheriffs of Teviotdale, who, if they had been lawful, had been sons to the king's daughter, and had succeeded to the Earldom before his brother Archibald the Grim, who did succeed to him; but though they did not succeed, yet they have shewed themselves very worthy, and amongst the chief great men of the land. Of this William also are descended the houses of Coshogle, Pinyrie, Davein, and others in Nithedale; for Archibald

Douglas, the first of Coshogle, was second son to this William of Drumlanrig, and was married to one Pringle of the house of Galashiels, who bore to him twelve sons, and after his death she was married to one Carnel Wallace, and bore twelve more to him also.

Touching the actions of Earl James, which were done in his father's days, one thing we have spoken of them in his father's life as most proper, there is one thing more, besides what has been said, recorded of him by some, that during his father's life he was sent into France, for renewing the ancient league with that kingdom, in which embassy were joined with him Walter Wardlaw, cardinal and bishop of Glasgow, and his uncle Archibald Lord of Galloway. This is said to have been in the year 1381, which is the eleventh year of the reign of Robert Stewart; the occasion of it was a message that came out of France from Charles VI. who desired to have it so.

After his return in September, he recovered the town of Berwick from the English, and entering England with a competent power, burnt and spoiled all the country about as far as Newcastle.

About the time of his father's decease, in the year 1384, there was a truce concluded between France and England to last a year, in which Scotland was also comprehended: this treaty was at Boulogne, or at Lillegham, as others write, and for intimation thereof, some Frenchmen were directed to come into Scotland; but while they prepared themselves too negligently, the Earls of Northumberland and Nottingham, with such as lay nearest to the Scotch marches, laid hold of this opportunity to annoy Scotland, so that the Scots should have no time to revenge it before the truce was proclaimed, entered Scotland with an army of 20,000, or, as others say, 10,000 horse and 6000 archers and bowmen, and spoiled the country far and wide, especially the lands pertaining to the Douglasses and Lindsays. The Scots, who, trusting to the report of the truce, dreamed of no such thing, finding themselves thus used, were greatly grieved with their

own sloth, and no less incensed at the fraud and falsehood of England, and resolved to avenge the same. In the mean time the report of the English incursion coming to the ears of the French, who had the charge to intimate the assurance, admonished them of their slowness; wherefore, to make amends, though somewhat too late, they hastened over to London in the very time that the English army was in Scotland, there they were very cheerfully received, and magnificently entertained with feasting and banqueting, and under this colour cunningly detained, until it was known that the English army was come home and dismissed; then being suffered to depart, they came into Scotland and shewed their commission. The greatest part of the nobility, but chiefly the Earl of Douglas, and such as with him had received great loss by that expedition, cried out against the craft of the English, that this their fraud was no way to be suffered. The king went about to pacify them, and shewed plainly that he meant to receive and keep the truce, which they perceiving, drew out the matter at length, by reasoning to and fro, until such time as they had gathered together quietly 15,000 horsemen; then Douglas, Dunbar, and Lindsay, withdrew themselves from court without noise, at a day appointed, and joining their companies at the place of rendezvous, enter England with displayed banners, waste and spoil Northumberland to Newcastle; then they do the like to the Earl of Nottingham's lands and the Moubray's, and so return home with a huge prey of men and cattle. Straight after their return the truce was proclaimed, meeting fraud, not with fraud, but with open force, by a just and honest recompence and retaliation. Neither were the English discontented for all this to accept the truce, acknowledging that the Scots had reason to do what they did, or confessing their own weakness and want of ability to revenge it at this time, or both, by their sitting still and acceptance; for neither rightly could, though weak, have had patience in so great an injury, neither would force, if it had thought itself sufficient, have been bridled with reason only in so manifest an affront, and so great damage; however it

be they stirred not, and so the truce was kept till it expired of itself.

When it was run out, John de Vienne a Burgundian, a very valiant man, admiral of France, and Earl of Valentinois, arrived in Scotland, and brought with him 2000 men, amongst whom were 100 men at arms; he brought also 400 cuirasses, and 400 half long swords, to be distributed among the Scots, and, as some write, 50,000 crowns. Before their coming James Earl of Douglas entered into England with a new army, and upon their arrival was called back to court, where they attended his coming; then having consulted of their business, and the army being ready, they accompanied him into England, where they took the castles of Wark, Ford, and Cornwall, and spoiled and burnt the country between Berwick and Newcastle. But when they intended to go on further, the continual rain that fell in great abundance, being in autumn, did so spoil the ways and raise the waters, and wet the soldiers and their armour, that they were forced to retire home again into Scotland. In the mean time King Richard greatly moved that the Scots must bring in strangers to waste his country, entered Scotland with an army of 60,000 foot and 8000 horse, and used all sort of hostility in the Merse and Lothian, not sparing the religious houses and persons, such as Newbottle, Melross and Dryburgh, with the monks thereof. The French admiral better remembering, and more careful of his master's directions, than considering what was fit to be done, dealt earnestly with the Earl of Douglas to give him battle. But the Earl knowing better, and regarding more the good of his country, and weighing with judgment the English power and forces, would nowise listen to him, he told him it was not for want of affection to do the king of France service that he refused to fight, but in respect of the unequal number and appointment of the armies at that time; and that he might the better see the English forces, he took him up to a hill, from whence they might have a reasonable view of them as they passed by in order; which when the admiral had seen, and considered thereof, he easily

yielded to the Earl's opinion. Hollinshed setteth down the odds, saying, that the Scots and French were not above 8000 spears, and 30,000 of all other sorts, and the most part of those not well armed: where he reckoneth of English 6000 horse, and 60,000 archers, which are 2000 horses fewer than our histories do reckon. In this inequality therefore, being no less a wise conductor than a valiant warrior, he resolved not to hazard a battle, but determined to take another course, which he did; for he entered England on that quarter which was farthest distant from the English army, and wasted Cumberland and the adjacent country near to it. The king of England being advertised hereof, purposed to have followed him, and forced him to fight: but being better advised, and no doubt put in mind of what had befallen his grandfather Edward III. at Stanhope-park, against good Sir James, he altered his purpose, and marched the readiest way home. And so both armies having spoiled and wasted each others countries, they returned without encountering or seeing each other.

In the return the Earl Douglas persuaded them to besiege Roxburgh castle, making full account that the king of England would not raise a new army before the next spring, and so they sat down before it; but it did not continue eight days before they raised the siege. The cause was an unreasonable demand of the Frenchmen, who would needs have the castle to be given to them, and to belong to the king of France, when it was won from the enemy. This demand did so offend the Scots, that they could by no means hear of it, and so the enterprise was deserted upon this occasion, but chiefly by the Frenchmen's insolent and licentious behaviour and carriage in the wars, who rob and steal, and use all manner of force and violence: there arose many times great strife, and many quarrels between the country people and them: for the country people watched them when they were alone, or but few together, and sometimes robbed them of their horses, sometimes of their valise and luggage; sometimes they hurt, and at other times slew some of them. The French commanders complained to the king's

council, and the common people answered, that they had received more loss and hurt by the French, who professed themselves to be friends, than they had done by the English, who were sworn enemies: and therefore they said it was reasonable that the French should no ways be suffered to go home; until they had satisfied for the wrongs they had done. The Earl Douglas in this hard case, seeing they were strangers that came to aid Scotland, was willing partly to bear with their faults, as proceeding from an evil custom and form used at home in France, and therefore interposed himself to have mitigated the people, but could hardly pacify them; yet at last with great instancy and intreaty, being greatly favoured, and generally well beloved and popular, he obtained that the common soldiers and the army should be suffered to return into France, and that their captains and commanders should be retained still, until satisfaction were made for the loss they had sustained. And so the king of France's desire was satisfied, who had then sent for them, and with all order taken with the damage done by them.

This was the aid, and this was the success of the help received from France now the second time. It was very small before, and it is now to very little purpose; more hurtful and troublesome to the country, than of importance against the enemy. After their embarking, the Scots remained still in England the space of two months, and then the English having withdrawn, and conveyed all the victual out of the way, they returned into Scotland. And hereby they did show how little they leaned to foreign aid, without which their greatest enterprises were performed: neither was there ever, either by these or by others before or since, (though we look over all histories) any great exploit atchieved. All the help ever they got, was only in the besieging of some towns at some particular times, and some such trifles scarce worth the naming, in respect of the whole power of the body and state of the country, which I remark again, and commend to the reader to be truly considered, for vindicating the valour and worth of the inhabitants, from that oblique and unequal judgement of such as dis-

minish and impair it; who cannot but know that it was never foreign forces, as is wrongfully surmised, but the virtue and valour of their predecessors that hath preserved the honour and liberty of their country all manner of ways; and that any one man amongst divers of the name of Douglas, hath done more in that cause than the force of France, if it were all put together, did ever to this hour.

The year following, the Earl of Douglas with Robert Stewart Earl of Fife, and Archibald Douglas Lord of Galloway his uncle, entered England, with an army of three thousand men, passing the water of Solway so secretly, that they were at Cockermouth on such a sudden, that the people had no leisure to convey their goods out of the way. Wherefore, having for the space of three days gathered together a rich booty, they returned home through Cumberland, Westmoreland and Northumberland into Scotland again without any encounter.

Not long after Archibald Lord of Galloway, in company of the same Earl of Fife, made an inroad into England, in revenge whereof the king of England sent an army into Scotland, which did great harm in the Merse and occasioned that notable battle at Otterburn.

For the Scots irritated herewith, boiled with desire of revenge, being at that time very flourishing with strong youth, and never better furnished with commanders. But King Robert, a man by nature given to quietness, far stricken in years (seventy three years old) was become slacker, and seemed not to make so great account of the public injuries. His eldest son John was dull of nature, and having received a hurt by a stroke of a horse, which pertained to James Douglas Lord of Dalkeith, was thereby lame of a leg, and halted, and so unfit for the travel of war. Therefore they had recourse to the king's next son the Earl of Fife, and do easily agree with him, resolving to avenge the hurt and damage they had lately received. So every man promising his best endeavour, appointment is made to convene in August, or, as some say, in July; but so secretly, as it should not come to the knowledge of

either of the two kings, lest the king of Scotland should hinder them, or the king of England prevent them: yet when they had used all the expedition and secrecy they could, the English had notice of it, and were informed of both the day and place of their meeting. Wherefore, that they might entrap them and take them at unawares, they advertised one another, and the noblemen commanded the commons to be in readiness against the next advertisement, without appointing any certain day, for fear the Scots should hear of it. These things thus ordered, when they heard that the Scots were convened in Teviotdale, not far from the march, to the number of 30,000, or as Forsyard saith, 40,000 men, not daring to join battle with such a multitude, they concluded not to stir or appear before the coming of the enemy, but that every man should remain in his own bounds, till they saw on what coast and quarter the tempest would light, and then to take the best course they could, according as occasion should offer; and if they could do no more, to invade Scotland on another hand, far from the enemy, as the Scots had done to them the year before, and so to recompense loss with loss. In the mean time they sent a spy to the Scots camp, who might bring them more certain report of all things, desirous to know not only their intention, but even their particular speeches and actions; he who was sent being nothing different from the rest in language, apparel or armour, did easily pass for a Scot, and by that means having been in the company undiscovered, and having observed sufficiently all that was needful to be known, as he returned to his horse to be gone, which he had bound to a tree, he found that he was taken away; whereupon taking him to his feet, with his cloak, boots, and spurs, and his other riding equipage; he was perceived, suspected, taken and examined what he was, whence he came, and whither he went: and being found to vary in his answers, he was brought before the general of the army, where being threatened with the rack, he confessed all, and revealed the Englishmen's intentions and purposes. Upon this the Scots altered their design, and whereas they were before minded to have gone altogether in one host, they now

divided themselves in two; so that the greatest part of the army should pass in at Carlisle, led by the king's two sons. the Earls of Fife and Strathern, together with Archibald Douglas Lord of Galloway, uncle to the Earl. The other part of the army was committed to the Earl of Douglas, and with him George and John Dunbar Earls of March and Murray, his uncles, William or James Lindsay Earl of Crawford, the Earl of Errol Constable, the Lord Montgomery and Patrick Hepburn of Hales, with his son: the number of his company is not agreed upon. Some say that he had the half of the army 15000, others but 2000 foot and 300 horse, with as many footmen waiting on the horsemen, who were lightly armed and able to fight, and almost equalling the horsemen in speedy expedition. Some say they were 4000 chosen horsemen in all, which is most probable by the great diligence and haste he made: with his company he entered England on the east hand, and crossing the river Tyne with great celerity; he was past Durham before ever the enemy was advertised or knew of his coming, till he himself made it known by fire and smook, in burning the country.

The Earl of Northumberland hearing of him, himself being a man of great years, sent his two sons Henry and Ralph, hardy and valiant young men, to Newcastle, commanding the rest of the country also to resort thither, that they might intercept the Earl of Douglas in his return: but he having spoiled the country about Durham, and got a great booty, passed Tyne again, about three miles above Newcastle; and being desirous of glory, and encouraged by his success, esteeming it but small honour for him to spoil the villages, and not to dare to look upon the towns, marched towards Newcastle, and did make offer to have assaulted it, and, as some write, did assault it, having first filled the ditches with hay and faggots, hoping thereby to have drawn out the enemy to the open fields; having staid there two days, there passed some light skirmishes amongst them every day: and at last Henry Percy eldest son to the Earl of Northumberland (called Hotspur) being desirous to try his valour, either provoking the Earl Douglas, or

provoked by him, the combat was offered, and accepted betwixt them. They mounted on two fair steeds, and ran together with sharp grounded spears at outrace; in which encounter the Earl Douglas bore Percy out of his saddle: but the English that were by did rescue him, so that he could not come at himself; but he snatched away his spear, with his guidon or witter; and holding it aloft, and shaking it, he cried out aloud, that he would carry that into Scotland as his spoil, Hollinshed saith, out of Froysard, that they did not run on horseback, but that in an assault at the barriers without the gate, Douglas by chance being matched hand to hand with Percy, by force plucked his pennon from him, and holding it up on high, said, he would carry it for his sake into Scotland.

There were then at Newcastle a great number of people; for besides the indwellers, there were all the choice men from York to the borders, as the writers relate. Wherefore Earl Douglas, in respect of his small number, caused keep strict watch; and on the morrow, removing his camp, he marched toward Scotland at a slow pace, being loaden with booty; then sending it away before, he assaulted, took and demolished a certain castle and town that was in their way, called Pontelan, whereof Sir Aymer of Alphen was Lord, whom he took within the castle, and made him a prisoner. Then marching forward, they came to a place called Otterburn, about twelve miles from Newcastle, where they pitched down their tents that the soldiers might take some rest, and refresh themselves after their great travel, as not having rested that day, nor the night before, nor much any where since their entry into England. There they consulted about the rest of their journey, and the most part advised to march towards Carlisle, that they might join with the other army, that so they might observe the order given them, which was not to fight at all, till both hosts were joined together. But the Earl Douglas thought best to stay there some three or four days, that they might quell the Percy's bragging, who had affirmed that they should not carry his spear into Scotland; and that the soldiers might

not be idle the while, they might be taking the castles, and gentlemen's houses, that lay near. To this opinion the others did yield for his sake, howsoever it seemed not to be the most expedient; so they fortified and strengthened their camp as well as they could on that side where it was weak, being fenced with morasses on the other side; they went and besieged a certain castle, called Combure. Percy would fain have followed them presently upon their retreat, but he was hindered by the better advised, for fear of an ambush: for they thought it was not likely that the Scots, being so few in number, would have assaulted so strong a town, unless they heard of some greater power to succour and aid them.

Having therefore searched diligently that day, and the next, and understanding that the other great army was not to be feared, as being far from the Earl Douglas, Percy marched towards him with 10,000 men, not staying for the Bishop of Durham, who was said to be at Newcastle that same night, esteeming his present forces sufficient to overthrow his enemies, who were fewer in number by the one half at least. The vanguard of the English host were come in sight, while the Scots were some at supper, and others gone to rest, being wearied with assaulting the castle. Hereupon the alarm was given, and the English approaching, assailed them fiercely, and were received valiantly by a part of the footmen and the lacquies, and the grooms; who having the advantage of the fortification which had been made, sustained the charge till the rest were armed and ready. At their first encamping, when they viewed the fields, they had espied a little hill, which they meant to make use of, if the enemy should follow and assail them, as they did certainly expect; and now it stood the horsemen in very good stead; for whilst the English assaulted the entry of the camp, the horsemen, fetching a compass about this hill, charged them in flank at the far side, in which charge many were slain; and the whole army was filled with tumult and fears: but by the coming of fresh supplies, the English abounding in number, the battle was restored, and their ranks ordered as be-

fore: yet this profit it brought to the Scots, that the fight being slack'd at the entry of the camp, they had space to go forth, and to put their men in array. In the mean time night grew on, which was troublesome, and unwelcome to both; but being short, as in the northern parts it is in July, and the season fair, the moon-light did serve them instead of day-light, and the fight was continued very hard, as amongst gallant men on both sides, who esteemed glory more than life. Percy strove to repair the foil he had got at Newcastle, and the Earl Douglas did labour as much to keep the honour he had won: so in unequal number, but both equally eager in mind, they continued fighting a great part of the night. At last a cloud covering the face of the moon, not being able to discern friend from foe, they took some respite for a while; but as soon as the cloud was gone, the English gave so hard a charge, that the Scots were put back in such a manner, that the Douglas's standard was in great danger of being lost. This did so irritate him, that he himself in one wing, and the two Hepburns (father and son) in the other, pressing through the ranks of their own men, and advancing to the place where the greatest danger appeared, renewed a hard conflict; and by giving and receiving many wounds, they restored their men into the place from whence they had been beaten, and continued the fight until the next day at noon. The Earl Douglas not being satisfied nor contenting himself with having renewed the battle, but himself, with two companions, Robert Hart and Simon Glendining, rushed into the midst of the enemies, and equalling the courage of his mind with the strength of his body, whatsoever way he set himself, he made great havock of the enemies. It was wonderful to see the great destruction that he wrought: Major, in describing it, can make no end nor satisfy himself; his comparisons are high, like a lion of Lybia. His description of his body is, that it was fair and well compacted, his strength huge, which he yet amplifieth with greater hugeness, saying that he fought with a mace of iron which two ordinary men were not able to lift, which notwithstanding

he did weild easily, making a great lane round about him wherever he went: his courage and confidence appeared in his so valiant persisting, as though he would have slain the whole English army himself alone; and seeking to find Henry Percy amongst the midst of them, he was entered far within the ranks of the enemy. Hollinshed confesseth, that with a great mace in his hand he laid such sad strokes about him, that none came within his reach but he went down to the ground. And Boetius saith plainly, he fought with a mace heavier than any man was able to bear in those days, and that rushing into the midst of his enemies, he made such a slaughter, that it was chiefly attributed to his valour that the Scots won the field.

But whilst he was thus fighting in the midst of them, before his friends could come at him, though they pressed forward to have seconded and assisted him with all the force that might be, they found him lying on the ground with three deadly wounds. There was lying dead by him Robert Hart, and the priest called Richard Lundie, who was afterwards made Archdean of Aberdeen, that had ever stood fast by his side, defended his fainting body with a halbert from injury; he being in this state, his kinsmen James Lindsay and John and Walter Sinclair came to him and asked him how he did: "I do well, (said he) dying as my predecessors have done before; not in a bed of languishing sickness, but in the field. "These things I require of you as my last petitions: first, "that you keep my death close both from our own folk and "from the enemy; then that ye suffer not my standard to be "lost, or cast down; and last that ye ayenge my death, and "bury me at Melross with my father. If I could hope for "these things, I should die with the greater contentment: "for long since I heard a prophecy, that a dead man should "win a field, and I hope in God in shall be I." Hereupon they covered his body with a cloak, that it might not be known, and then hoisting aloft his standard, and crying, as the manner was, *A Douglas! A Douglas!* most part repairing thither from all quarters, they began the fight afresh

for not only the common soldiers came thither, but the Earl of Murray also came with speed, thinking that the battle went hard on that hand, for he had beaten those that he had to deal with, and Sir John Mackerell had taken the young Percy, named Ralph, and delivered him to his master the Earl of Murray, who had sent him being hurt, to the camp to be cured, as Froysard saith. Hollinshed and Boetius agree, that it was Keith marischal that took him. By this means the ardour of the battle being relented on that hand, the fight was renewed, and the strife redoubled on this side, and the Earl Douglas's followers, who were gathered about his ensign, did at last scatter and defeat the English, weary with the former fight which had continued both day and night: and in this assault the Lord Montgomery took Henry Percy their captain prisoner, whereupon the army fled and turned their backs. There were slain in this battle 1840 of the English, and 1040 taken prisoners; 1000 also were wounded. Of the Scots there were 100 slain, and 200 taken prisoners; whilst they followed over rashly, fewer following more, they turned and took those that would have taken them.

This is the battle at Otterburn, memorable not only for the magnanimity, courage, perseverance, tolerance of travel, and (in victory) modesty of soldiers and captains, but also for the variable event, where the victor, in high expectation of glory, prevented by death, could not enjoy the fruit of his travel. The vanquished, although his army was defeated made a prisoner, yet lived long after this battle with praise; for it was no reproach to him to be overcome, nor so great a blot to have been put to the worse, as it was honourable to have so contended. The event of battles is uncertain, and only in the hands of the highest: if men do their endeavour, what more can be required? It is not the least part of the Piercies honour that they did contest with the Douglasses, and did sometimes overcome, and sometimes were thus vanquished; though it were but seldom that the Douglasses got the worse, when their forces were equal.

Here there was great inequality, where notwithstanding he won the honour through the loss of himself: neither was it accounted dishonour to his army, though more in number, or to himself to have been thus overcome: for they are recorded to have done their endeavours, and discharged the parts of valiant men, and were only overmatched by excellency of valour, as we have shown, and as it may be seen by all writers; not by hunger or cold, steepness of hills and mountains; which I speak not to reproach any, but to make known the truth, and withal, not to cover virtue on either side, which was confessed of all in that age; neither was any man found of another mind: only the Earl marischal of England being a little after sent down with a company to be warden of the borders, during Percy's captivity, who did build for his ransom the castle of Penoun, near to Glasgow, durst extenuate the glory of the Scots with the reproach of his own countrymen, attributing the cause of this victory; not to the valour of the Scots, but to the cowardice of the English that fought against them, boasting much of himself, that, if he had been present, or if he should happen to have occasion to fight with the Scots, he should do great matters. But his boasting was soon made to appear but idle words: for, moved by these his speeches, the governor of Scotland, viz. Robert Earl of Fife, having raised an army, went into England with Archibald Earl of Douglas called the *grim*, brother to this deceased Earl, and who did succeed him in the Earldom, and made directly towards the Earl marischal, and as soon as they came in sight, offered him battle: and when they could not draw him out to fight, they sent a herald to him to challenge him, and provoke him to fight, but all in vain; for neither did he send back any answer; nor would he come to an equal and even ground. Therefore they, having spoiled and wasted the country with fire and sword in his sight, and as it were under his nose, returned home into Scotland, to the great contentment of the Scots, and no great discontentment of the English prisoners, who were not sorry that his vanity was thus discovered. Certainly, the

truth can hardly be belied, and if partiality will not, yet indifference will bear witness to it. Froysard, a stranger, and favouring more the English, concludeth concerning this battle, that in all history there is none so notable, by the bravery of the captains and valour of the soldiers, fought so long, so hardly, so variable, the victory inclining diversly several times, and at last obtained, not by the cowardice of the overcome, but by the valour of the overcomers. Neither is that virtue of valour only remarkable in this place, and marked by him, but their modesty, when they had overcome, rare and wonderful to him, (as it is indeed to others) but common enough to the Scottish nation, practised by them often in their victories, and almost ever where some great enormity hath not irritated them, contrary to their nature and custom; yet here very singularly: for in the heat of the conflict no men ever fought more fiercely; in the victory obtained none ever behaved themselves more mercifully; taking prisoners, and having taken them, using them as their dearest friends with all humanity, courtesy, gentleness, and tenderness, curing their wounds, sending them home, some free without ransom, some on small ransom, almost all on their simple word and promise to return at certain times appointed, or when they should be called upon. So that of 1000 prisoners scarcely 400 were brought into Scotland, the rest all remitted in that same manner with Ralph Percy; and by his example, who because of his wounds, desired this courtesy of the Earl of Murray, and obtained it, and was sent to Newcastle, on his naked word to return when he should be called for. But what courage and confidence was it, that they durst adventure with so great peril to be so courteous as they were? When the Bishop of Durham approaching to invade them the next day, with 10,000, as some say, with 7000, as others, of fresh men; yet they would not kill their prisoners that were within their camp, equal almost to the half of their own number, but on their own promises to remain true prisoners, however the field went, and with a small guard, having only pinioned them together with small cords, suffered

them to live in the camp, and went themselves to encounter the Bishop, full of confidence and scorn, that after the defeat of the flower of Northumberland; with their so worthy leaders the Percies, that a priest (so they called the Bishop) should dare to set upon them, or but to abide them three marked strokes, as their leader said to them in his exhortation: as it came indeed to pass without any strokes; for they affrighted him only with the sound of their horns, as it seems Major would say, which they winding against him, and the hills redoubling the sound thereof he was afraid, and durst not invade them, finding them ready and resolved to fight, whom he thought to have found weary because of their former travel, or negligent because of their victory. And considering (saith Froysard) there was more to be lost than to be win at their hands, the captain distrusting his host, and the host their captain, it was thought best not to give battle, and so he retired without assaulting them. Their leader, after the Earl Douglas's death, was the Earl of Murray, saith Buchanan; but I should rather take it to be the Earl of March, for he was the elder brother; and Major saith it was March. However our Scotchmen's courtesy and courage is exceedingly to be commended, who notwithstanding that they looked for nothing but to have fought with the Bishop of Durham, yet they spared their prisoners, which, and the like actions, when I consider, I would gladly understand of such as delight to reproach our nation with all the calumnies they can invent, and amongst the rest, style them *barbarous*: What is it they style barbarity? And if cruelty and inhumanity be not the special points of it? whereof they shall never read that any nation were more free, or that ever hath been more courteous, humane, and gentle, in peace and in war, even at all times and in all places. I wish all men would acknowledge the truth as it is: if they will not, yet shall it be truth, and truth shall never want a witness. It will be acknowledged, and must prevail to their great reproach that seek to hide or impair it.

To return to our history. When the news of these things

were brought to the other camp, which was in Cumberland, they were stricken with extreme grief, and were more sorry for the death of the Earl of Douglas than they were glad for the victory obtained; all their joy for that success being turned into grievous lamentation. So great was the affection of all the army towards him, that not only those who followed him, but those of the other army also, retired home silent and sad as if they had been discomfited and overcome. It increased the commiseration of men, that he died in the flower of his age, and that he alone should be deprived of that victory which was obtained by his virtue and valour. And I think that the same affection doth continue in the hearts of the readers of the history, which is never mentioned without a tender compassion.

And for myself, as often as I call to mind his great worth and short life, I remember withal that of the poet,

*Ostendent terris hunc tantum fata, nec ultra
Esse sinent, &c.*

The fates shall make but of this youth a show,
Such virtue must not tarry long below.

And with a great hyperbole, greater than piety can well admit, if any such speeches can be too great, which do not import what they speak, but are only brought to express the highest excellency that can be.

—*Ninium vobis Romana propago
Visa potens, superi, propria hæc si dona fuissent.*

The heavens had made the Roman race to be
Too blest, if this gift had held on with thee.

Change but the country name, call it *Scotana propago*, and you shall accommodate these verses more fitly here to this man; but most of all, in the simple sense, that which follows,

—*Non illi se quisquam impune tulisset
Obvius armato, seu cum pedes iret in hostem,
Seu spumantis equi foderet calcaribus armos.*

No man in arms that durst to him make head,
Did 'scape unfoil'd, on foot or foaming steed.

Which he, speaking of Marcellus, if he had lived, is witnessed of this Earl Douglas, even by the adversary, whilst he yet lived. To which purpose I remember, that worthy Sir Philip Sidney, in his defence of poetry, writes of himself, That he never heard the song of Douglas and Percy, but he found his heart more moved therewith than with a trumpet; whereof he allegeth the cause to be the force and power of poetry: though it be sung (saith he) by some rude crowder, and with no rougher voice than a gross style. What he saith of himself, I doubt not but others have found in themselves: neither is it the music of that rough singer that giveth it this force, far less the virtue of the gross rhyme; it is the matter that gives the efficacy, and the virtue of the man that begetteth a resembling virtue in the heart; not by poetry, but by the rightly described history. Indeed this is the man apparently who hath given subject to those songs, being the first that encountered with Percy in such a particular conflict: but that which is commonly sung of the hunting of Cheviot seemeth indeed poetical, and a mere fiction, perhaps to stir up virtue; yet a fiction whereof there is no mention either in the Scotch or English chronicle: neither are the songs that are made of them both one; for the Scotch song made of Otterburn telleth the time, about Lammas, and the occasion to take preys out of England; also the dividing of the armies betwixt the Earls of Fife and Douglas, and the several journies, almost as in the authentic history. It beginneth thus:

It fell about the Lammas tide,
When yeomen won their hay.
The doughty Douglas 'gan to ride,
In England, to take a prey.

Whereas the other maketh another occasion, and altogether different; yet it is not more effectual to move virtue than the true history here set down, nor indeed so effectual as it: and therefore let it be read, and read over again, by such as de-

light in military virtues; chiefly by those to whom these examples are as hereditary and domestic, which they must needs affect, as also all the other actions of the life; but none testifying a better mind, a better resolution of the mind, more courage, more valour, with gifts of the body, strength and activity, all ruled by reason, and guided by wisdom, as is seen in his dealing with the Frenchmen, when they would have had him to fight with the king of England: which virtues of valour and wisdom so joined, are able to make a due harmony, acceptable to a right judgement, commendable to after ages, and profitable for the present.

Boetius writes, that he died not in the field, but after the battle in his own tent, and that the Earls of Crawford, Murray, and March went into his tent, and found him lying with three great wounds, almost dead; at which sight each looked upon other with a silent astonishment, and then burst forth into tears and weeping: which he beholding, said unto them, with a weak and faint voice which could scarcely be heard, "I beseech you, good friends, leave your lamenting, and be glad of the present victory which God of his infinite goodness hath granted to us: we exposed our bodies to the enemies' sword, to obtain that which we have obtained. Turn therefore your tears into thanks, mindful rather of the benefit than sorrowful for that which has happened otherwise than ye wished. If ye regard my pains and my life, which for you I lose, pray for my soul, and follow virtue and arms, as ye do, which you may employ for the liberty of your country, keeping concord amongst yourselves, with a kind remembrance of me."

Soon after these words were uttered, he died in the arms of his friends. Some say that he was not slain by the enemy, but but by one of his own men, a groom of his chamber, whom he had struck the day before with a truncheon, in the ordering of the battle, because he saw him make somewhat slowly to: and they name this man John Bickerton of Lufness, who left a part of his armour behind unfastened, and when he was in the greatest conflict, this servant of his

came behind his back and slew him thereat. But this narration is not so probable. He was buried at Melross beside his father, with a military pomp of the whole army, and all the honour that could be devised for him besides by the abbot and monks of that convent, after the most solemn manner of those times.

Jacobus Duglassius qui obiit ad Otterburnum Julii 21. 1388. moriens:

Quæritis o quid agam? en animam jam ago: fata meorum

Hac sequor. Innumero huc vulnere facta via est.

Nesciat hoc hostis: sequitor quam quisque secat spem:

Atque aliquis nostri funeris ultor ades.

Finiit: et subito redivivo e funere surgens

Mars novus intonuit: victor et ultor obit.

In English thus:

My friends you ask me how I do?

My soul is now prepar'd to go,

Where many wounds have made their way.

Conceal it, till you won the day;

Pursue your hopes: this said, he dy'd.

Then the whole ranks 'A Douglas!' cry'd,

And charg'd afresh, that thou might'st have

Revenge and honour in the grave.

Before we proceed to speak of the next Earl of Douglas, the order of history requireth that first we speak of Archibald Douglas Lord of Galloway, brother to William the first Earl of Douglas, and of the said Archibald's natural son William Lord of Nithisdale. Of this Archibald we have mentioned what was remarkable in his brother Earl William's life, for that was the time of his action. The first was after the battle of Penure, to be revenged of the loss whereof, the English invaded Scotland with 50,000 men, as they say that make them the fewest, or 40,000 according to others, conducted by the Lord Talbot, a very valiant man: with this huge number when they had spoiled the country far and wide, as they retired towards England, they were assailed at a strait passage by the Lord of Galloway, who had not above 5000

in his company; with these he discomfited his host, and recovered the whole booty. There were slain of the enemies in the conflict 400, and 200 taken prisoners, and many were drowned in the river Solway, as they fled unadvisedly. Some write, that he set upon them in the night, being encamped in a strait valley, not far from England, where the first that they met with being slain, the rest were affrighted and disordered, and so overthrown.

The next thing that we hear of him is, that he was with his brother the Earl at the conference with John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, concerning a truce, and that he accompanied the said Duke to Holyroodhouse. The truce was made for three years.

And after these were expired, the Lord of Galloway being very much grieved that there should be a garrison of English in the castle of Lochmaben which did daily spoil and rob the villages and towns of Galloway and Annandale, raised a great power by the help of his brother the Earl Douglas and the Earl of March, and besieged the castle for the space of eleven days. There came some English companies to have raised the siege and relieved the castle, but he repulsed them. Thereafter having assaulted it very fiercely, the captain thereof, Sir William Ediston, yielded it up unto him, lives and goods safe, and he having got it into his hands, razed it to the ground.

It is written also of him, that he went into France with his nephew James Earl of Douglas, when he was sent to renew the ancient league with that kingdom.

The last of his actions that we can find is, that he was with his nephew James Earl of Douglas and the Earl of March at the taking of Wark, Ford, and Cornwall, where he wasted and spoiled the country, betwixt Berwick and Newcastle, with the Frenchmen. These Frenchmen not content herewith, but desirous to do some other exploit, joining with Archibald Lord of Galloway, passed Solway Sands, and did great hurt in Cumberland.

He is accounted by writers to have been a very sufficient

and valorous gentleman, and that he died before the battle of Otterburn, in the year 1387. He founded the hospital of Holiwood; and to him succeeded his nephew Archibald, called the *grim*, in the Lordship of Galloway, and afterwards was both Earl of Douglas and Lord of Galloway.

And here it is to be observed, that there were three Archibald Douglasses almost contemporary, which are to be distinguished, that we mistake not one for another. The first is this Archibald, brother to William the first Earl, who was Lord of Galloway then, when his brother lived, and who was father to the Lord Nithisdale. The second Archibald was natural son to good Sir James, slain in Spain, who was made captain of the castle of Edinburgh, when it was taken by his brother the Lord of Liddisdale, who was wrongfully named William in our chronicles, instead of Archibald. He was at the battle of Poitiers, and is reported to have married in France, and remained there till his death. The third is Archibald the Grim, of whom we shall speak hereafter. Our writers, through inadvertency, do several times confound these three, taking one of them for another. As when they say Archibald Lord of Galloway, son to Sir James slain in Spain, was taken at Poitiers; it is a manifest error: for if he was Lord of Galloway, he was not son to Sir James; if he was son to Sir James then was he not Lord of Galloway; for Galloway did never belong to Sir James, but to his brother Archibald, slain at Halidon-hill, who obtained it by marrying the heiress of Galloway (as hath been said) and gave it to his second son this Archibald. Thus much I thought good to advertise the reader in this place, for the better distinguishing of them.

Of WILLIAM Lord of Nithisdale, natural Son to this foresaid ARCHIBALD Lord of Galloway, commonly called the BLACK DOUGLAS.

THIS William Lord of Nithisdale, natural son to Archibald Lord of Galloway, is, of any else worthy to be spoken of by himself, being highly commended by writers, who say that he was the prime and principal of the youth of Scotland; that he was a man accomplished with all abilities of body and mind, straight and tall of stature, not overcharged with flesh, but big of bone, a mighty personage, valiant, courteous, amiable, faithful, merry and pleasant in company and converse, of such extraordinary strength, that whomsoever he struck with a sword or mace, he fell to the ground, were he never so well armed: he was also wise and sober. At one time having but 800 men in his company, he fought against 3000 English, of which he slew 200, and took 500 prisoners. This is he that is commonly called *The Black Douglas*, because he was of a black and swarthy complexion. His first vassalage of note was at the inroad made by Robert Earl of Fife, and James Earl of Douglas, when they burnt Cumberland, Westmorland, and Northumberland. In this expedition he is said to have gained great reputation; for, besides many other exploits not expressed, he with other two only, made great havoc of the enemies, at the burning of the suburbs of Carlisle (who offered to hinder him from passing the bridge) by slaying some, and turning over others into the river. Some say that he slew with his own hands, three of the most valiant of the English, of whom one was a chief commander: afterwards, when the same town was besieged, the enemies having made a sally, whilst he repulsed them, and followed too eagerly, he was engaged too far in the midst of his enemies, and taken prisoner. As he was led along towards the town by four men, having been before disarmed, and his weapons taken from him, he struck two of them

to the ground with his fists, and the other two betaking themselves to flight, he returned safe to his company. Hereupon his name was terrible to the English, especially the common sort, who did ordinarily affright and scare their children when they would not be quiet, by saying, The *Black Douglas* comes, the *Black Douglas* will get thee.

These his virtues moved Robert II. to favour him so far, as to bestow his daughter on him, though he knew him to be a bastard. The lady's name was Giles, or Egidia, and she was a mirror or rare and singular beauty: so that whithersoever she went, she drew the eyes of all men towards her with admiration. The chief noble youths of the land did suit her in marriage; but the king preferred our William of Nithisdale for his worth before them all. Boetius writeth that the king of France having heard of the fame of her beauty, sent a painter into Scotland privately, who having drawn her portrait truly, and shewed it to the king; he was so enamoured hereof, that incontinent he dispatched ambassadors to desire her in marriage; but all too late, for she was married to Nithisdale before their coming. The King gave him and his heirs to be begotten by him with his daughter, the Lordship of Nithisdale, lying nearest unto Galloway, with the office of warden of that border, and sheriffship of Dumfries, with the office of justice and chamberlain, with a pension of three hundred pound sterling a year, out of the great customs of certain burrows designed to that effect. He had by this lady a daughter, who was married to Henry Sinclair Earl of Orkney, who bare to him a son called William, afterwards Earl of Orkney. This daughter of his, married to Orkney, was named Giles, after her mother, as appeareth by a note that is extant of the descent of the Sinclairs. Her husband is called Henry Sinclair, and his titles are, knight of the Cockle, of the Garter, and Prince of Orkney. This note calleth William Douglas, Lord of Nithisdale, Prince of Danskin, Duke of Spruce.* Sir William Sinclair, son to Henry and Giles, is

* Prussia.

called knight of the Golden Fleece, and of the Cockle Prince of Orkney, Duke of Oldenburgh, Earl of Caithness, Lord Sinclair, Lord of Nithisdale with the vallies of Nith, Sheriff of Dumfries, great Admiral of Scotland, Warden of the Marches, great Justice-General, Baron of Erkford, Caverton, Cowsland, Roslin, Pentland, Harbartshire, Dysart, Newburgh in Buchan, titles to weary a Spaniard; which I have set down to recreate the reader, either by seeing his greatness, or to laugh at the vanity of the writer; and yet he hath forgot one of his titles, which is Chancellor of Scotland, as Buchanan calls him, and a confirmation given him by King James II. in the year 1456, April 29th, wherein he calls him his chancellor and cousin. This confirmation is of the Earldom of Caithness, united into one barony, and his lands of Orkney, in compensation of his claim and title to the Lordship of Nithisdale, offices and pensions whatsoever that were given to William Douglas (his grandfather by his mother) by contract of marriage with Giles Stewart, daughter to King Robert by his wife Elizabeth Moor, as is at length therein contained.

About the time of the battle at Otterburn, because some Irishmen that adhered to England, had roved upon the coasts of Galloway, and carried away store of booty and spoil; the Lord of Nithisdale, to be revenged thereof, gathered together a competent number of men, by the aid of his brother in law Robert Earl of Fife; and by licence from the King, providing himself of ships and vessels, passed the seas into Ireland, and besieged Carlinford, a rich town in those parts. The townsmen fearing their town should be taken by assault, obtained a truce for certain days, promising to give him a sum of money to have their town saved. But in the mean time they assembled some 500 men, through the help of a neighbouring town called Dundalk, and joining with them, they divided themselves into two squadrons or companies; the one of which attacked Robert Stewart of Disdeir, who conducted the Earl of Fife's men, and was gone abroad to bring in some prey; the other assailed the Lord of Nithisdale, who lay still before the town. Notwithstanding of this unexpected sally, they

were received with such courage and valour, that at last they were put to flight; and immediately Nithisdale gave an hard assault to the town and carried it; having taken and rifled it sufficiently, he set it on fire, and burnt it to ashes. Others write, that at his first landing the citizens hearing it was the Lord of Nithisdale (whose name was so fearfully spread over all those quarters) not only rendered the town to him, but also received him with great triumph, as if he had been their king or prince; and that hereupon he used them courteously: but when his men were in great security, scattered and separated, as fearing no hurt or danger, and some at their ships, some sent with Robert Stewart of Disdeir to spoil the country about, which stood out against him, and to furnish his ships and the town; so that there remained not with the Lord Nithisdale above 200 men, when they set upon him, as before we have said; and being beaten, the town was sacked and burned. Then they took sixty ships, which they found in divers havens and creeks, and laded fifteen of them with such spoil as they had got, and burnt the rest. Then returning homeward they spoiled the Isle of Man, which lay in their way. He landed at Loch Ryan, which divides a part of Galloway from Carrick, and hearing there, of the inroad into England, he hasted him hither with all diligence.

But truce being made for certain years with England, that he might not languish in idleness, he passed into Spruce, from whence he heard that an army was to be sent against the infidels. There he gave such proof of his virtue and valour, that he was chosen admiral of the whole fleet, which was very fair and great, esteemed to consist of 250 sail, and was there created Duke of Spruce, and Prince of Danskin: but there arose dissention betwixt him and the Lord Clifford an Englishman, upon an old emulation, and present envy of his new preferment, at which Clifford grudged. Wherefore, being challenged to the field by Clifford, he accepted it gladly: but the other weighing with himself, what a hazard he was like to run by fighting with a man of such incomparable valour, found means, before the day of the combat came, to make him a-

way by hired assassins and brigands, who murdered him in the night on the bridge of Danskin. The manuscript seemeth to say that combat was not taken on there and then, but long before, while they were both at home; and that Nithisdale, before the day, passing to Paris to provide armour fit for him, or on whatsoever occasion else, Clifford gave it out that he had fled the combat; but when he saw that he was returned before the day appointed, fearing to match with his well known strength and valour, would have shifted the fight with many frivolous excuses. Now there being assembled and met together at that time brave knights from all the parts of Christendom, Clifford partly for envy of the honour conferred upon his adversary, and partly remembering their old debates, but chiefly because of this disgrace and infamy, of being put to this necessity of refusing to fight with him, he caused mercenary cut-throats to lie in wait for him, who, as he happened to walk through the streets, and view the walls of the town, set upon him, and murdered him, not without great difficulty: by which loss that enterprise against the infidels was disturbed and dashed.

We told before how he is styled Prince of Danskin, and Duke of Spruce, in the monuments of the Sinclairs, of whom one had married his daughter. Sure it is, by the report of many eye-witnesses, that there was a gate in Dantzick, on which the coat of the Douglasses was carved and graven in stone, which decaying, and being of late re-edified, this monument of him is perished. The common opinion is, that Dantzick having been taken by infidels, was regained by Scotsmen; and therefore it is, that the Scots have such privileges there, and there is a part of the town which they call Little Scotland, which is inhabited almost with Scotsmen. All which must be referred most apparently to the Lord Nithisdale, and to this time, doth testify in some measure, he hath surpassed the quality and condition of a private man, or of a stranger in those parts, seeing he hath acquired the title of Prince and Duke, whereof we can affirm no more than hath been said. This fell out about the year 1389, or 1390, about the death of King Robert II.

Of ARCHIBALD the Second, called the GRIM, the Third Earl, and Twelfth Lord of Douglas and Bothwell.

UNTO James slain at Otterburn succeeded his brother Archibald, whom Hollinshed wrongfully calleth his cousin. He was married to the daughter of Andrew Murray, sister's son to King David Bruce, and governor of Scotland: by her he got the Lordship of Bothwell, and many other lands; and she bare to him two sons, first William, who died a year before his father, without children, and Archibald, who succeeded to his father; also a daughter named Marjory, married to David Prince of Scotland. Concerning this Archibald the Grim, we find not many particular acts of his recorded, besides those which he did in his father's time and in his brother's of which we have already spoken, although certainly he cannot but have done divers worthy of memory, seeing he hath the name and reputation of a most worthy captain, being so stern and austere in carriage and countenance, that he was termed the Grim Douglas, and by our writers, Archibald the Grim.

Now that we may better understand the reasons of the Douglasses proceedings and actions, let us, as our manner is, take a general view of the state of the country at this time. His succession to the Earldom by the death of his brother was, as we have said, not long before the death of King Robert II. who died in the castle of Dundonald, in the year 1390, April 19. Before his death there was a truce made between England and France for the space of seven years, wherein Scotland was also comprehended. By reason of this truce partly, and partly for that his son John, who was afterwards called Robert III. was lame both of body and mind, and so no ways fit for war, there is no mention of any exploit done by this man; only it is said of him, that when King Robert III. in the year 1396, and seventh of his reign, created divers Dukes, and would have made this Archibald one, he refused it as a novelty and an empty

title, not worthy of accepting, seeing it was neither bestowed for merit, nor service done, nor had any real advantage in it, save an airy show of appearing honour to please the humour of ambitious minds, of which he was none.

The next year following, Richard II. of England was deposed, and the Duke of Lancaster was made King in his room, who was Henry IV. In the beginning of Henry's reign the seeds of war were sown upon this occasion.

George Dumbar, Earl of March, had betrothed his daughter Elizabeth to David the King's eldest son, and had paid a great part of her portion before hand: but the Earl Douglas alleging that the King's private contracting of his son, without the consent of the state, was not according to the custom of the kingdom, nor right and orderly done, caused the matter to be propounded by his Majesty to the Parliament, as former Kings had done, and as reason required, seeing the whole kingdom hath interest in the matching of their Princes, and King's children. There he handled the business so, that the contract with March's daughter was declared void and null; and his own daughter Marjory Douglas was contracted to the said Prince David, by consent of the Parliament; having offered a greater portion with her, than the Earl of March had done with his daughter. He obtained for her jointure, all the rents and revenues which belonged to the King on the south side of the Forth. The way he took to bring this to pass, was by the means of the King's brother Robert Earl of Fife now made Duke of Albany, and governor of the country under the King, as he had been in their father's time, who did also then even govern both King and kingdom, and every thing as he listed; and Douglas and he were inward and dear friends, as his brother James, slain at Otterburn, and he had ever been: now, whether the Earl Douglas had that respect indeed to have matters of such importance to the kingdom done by common advice of the nobility chiefly, or if his chief end were his own particular, because of the old emulation betwixt the Earls of March and Douglas, to hinder the growth of that house, by this great advantage of alliance, or if he had

an eye to both, or to any thing else, I leave it to be judged by others.

The marriage was solemnized in the church of Bothwell, with greater haste than good speed, or any comfort to either party that we hear of: for neither came this David ever to be King, which was the thing that was expected, that thereby the house of Douglas might have been made greater: neither did this alliance of Prince David with the Earl of Douglas, stand him in any stead, in that he was most miserably handled by his uncle the governor, who aspired himself to the crown, which makes me wonder, why he did not rather hinder this marriage of his nephew with the Earl of Douglas, than thus further it; seeing in all likelihood it might have been a great let and strong hinderance to those his ambitious designs: but so are the secrets of things hid from us, that we cannot find out the causes and reasons of them by no means, being not observed, or not mentioned by the writers of those times: however this marriage bred great contention and enmity between the Earls of March and Douglas, though near kinsmen, and did also disturb the peace and quietness of the kingdom: for March, before the marriage was solemnized, did not stick to go to the King, and upbraid him with breach of promise, which he said, was neither just nor Princely, craving also importunately and roughly the restitution of his money which he had advanced for his daughter's portion. The King having not answered him according to his mind, he spared not to threaten, that he should be avenged for that ruffle and disgrace that he had put upon him and his daughter. And so retiring from court, he fortifies his castle of Dumbar, and gives it in keeping to his nephew Robert Maitland; he himself, having received leave of King Henry, went into England; whereupon the castle of Dumbar was summoned in the King's name by an herald of arms, and was surrendered by the captain thereof Robert Maitland, into the hands of the Earl Douglas. The Earl of March returned into Scotland; but being excluded out of his castle at Dumbar, went back again into England, taking his lady and children along with him, together with the

nearest of his kinsmen, and his chief friends accompanying him. There he joined with Henry Piercy, called Hotspur, a perpetual enemy to the house of Douglas, and trusting to the favour and good-will borne him by these who dwelt on the east border or march of Scotland, most of which were his vassals and dependents, many of them his kinsmen, and all of them tied to him by some relation or obligation: he troubled the Merse, and chiefly the Earl Douglas's lands, with frequent incursions and inroads. The King hereupon caused proclaim him rebel, and yet notwithstanding, sent to him a herald of arms, with proffer of pardon and restitution, upon condition that he would return and live peaceably at home; and that he should receive all such satisfaction for any wrong he could justly complain of, as he desired. But when he refused to embrace this offer, the herald passed on to King Henry, and complained of the Earl of March, craving that he might be delivered according to the articles of truce. But he was answered by the King, that he had given him his word, and could not break it.

In the mean time Piercy and the Earl of March, being emboldened with divers successful attempts upon the borders, adventured with 2000 men to come into Lothian, where they wasted the country near unto Haddington, assaulted the castle of Hales twice, but in vain, burnt the towns of Hales, Trapren, Markill, and other adjacent villages. And while encamped at Linton upon Tyne, hearing of the Earl Douglas's approach, who had raised sufficient forces, and was marching towards them and was come as far as Pankrake, they arose and fled in great haste, leaving behind them all their booty, together with their own luggage and carriages. The manuscript and black book of Scoon say clearly, that the Earl of Douglas followed them so quickly, that he overtook them before they got to Berwick, and killed divers, having wrested an ensign out of the hands of Sir Thomas Talbot which he brought into Scotland with him. Boetius relates it not much otherwise. Our histories make no mention hereof, but only

say, that the Earl returned to Edinburgh with great congratulation and joy of all men.

He died not long after of a burning fever in the year 1400, in the beginning of February; very unseasonably for his country; which was destitute of able commanders in war, having lost divers others of good note not long before. He was buried in Bothwell with his lady. He was a man nothing inferior to any of his predecessors or successors of his house and name, in any kind of virtue, and in special of true and real kindness to his friends and followers, as appeareth by a letter of his to the Earl of March, in favour of the laird of Ridpath, a gentleman in Lammermoor, who was his follower, and was wronged by the Earl of March in the possession of some lands; but more in March's refusal to right him; he assembleth his forces, and dispossesseth the Earl of March's son and reponed Ridpath in his right, and maintained him therein ever after; which his successors do enjoy at this day. As for his valour and conduct in war, he is termed the best captain of his time, and that in his person the splendour and glory of warfare both stood and fell.

Others say that he left behind him an honourable memory of high prowess and noble valour, shewed in many enterprises by him happily achieved for the good of his country. In piety he was singular through his whole life; and most religious according to those times. He did very much honour and reverence all religious persons for whose use he founded the college of Bothwell. Out of his zeal and sincerity, he expelled the nuns of the abbacy of Lincluden, and changed it into a college of clerks, because the nuns, saith Boetius, kept not the institution of their order; and Major saith it is to be presumed that they kept not their chastity, otherwise he could never have thrust them out. And in this he commendeth him, as having an eye to religion, and a special care of the pure and sincere worship of God, as his only end and intention. As for his prudence and foresight, it appeareth that he did greatly increase his revenues, and enlarge his dominions: he was trusty and faithful in his promises, and carried

a mind free from all ambition and vain glory: all virtues greatly to be accounted of, and imitated of all.

Of ARCHIBALD the Third of that Name, and Thirteenth Lord, the Fourth Earl of DOUGLAS, Lord of Bothwell, Galloway, and Annandale, First Duke of Turrane, Lord of Longueville, and Marshal of France:

UNTO Archibald the Grim succeeded his second son named also Archibald, he was married to Margaret daughter to King Robert III. and second of the Stewarts. She lies buried in the church of Lincluden, with this inscription on her tomb.

Hic jacet Margareta Scotæ regis filia, Comitissa de Douglas, vallis Anandiæ, et Gallovidiæ Domina.

Here lies Margaret daughter to the King of Scotland, Countess of Douglas, Lady of Annandale and Galloway.

He had by her two sons, Archibald, to whom Thomas Fleming Earl of Wigton resigns the Earldom of Wigton, and he is entitled (during his father's lifetime) Archibald Earl of Wigton; his other son was James Lord Abercorn, called gross James. He had also two daughters, Margaret married to Sir William Sinclair, Earl of Orkney, who was fifth in line from the Earl of St. Clarence's second son, that came first out of France, and was son to Giles or Egidia Douglas, daughter to the Earl of Nithisdale. Elizabeth was the other, who was married to John Stewart Earl of Buchan, second son to Robert the governor, afterwards constable of France: her dowry or portion given with her in marriage, were the lands of Sturton, Ormeshugh, Dunlop, Trabuyage in Carrick, by resignation.

This Archibald is he who was called Tine-man, for the unfortunate and hard success he had, in that he tint or lost almost all his men, and all the battles that he fought. The old manuscript of Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington giveth this nickname or cognomination to Archibald slain at Halidon-hill, and calleth this Archibald, one eye, for distinction, because of the loss of his eye in a battle against Piercy. But that surname of Tine-man cannot be given so conveniently to the former Archibald, who lost only one field, and himself in it; whereas this man ever lost his men, himself escaping often: he is distinguished also from others by the title of Duke of Turrane. But however he be named, it is true that no man was less fortunate, and it is no less true that no man was more valourous, as will appear by the history.

At his beginning to be Earl, a little after the decease of his father in August 1409, Henry IV. of England entered Scotland with an army, and came to Edinburgh, where he besieged the castle, in the which the Duke of Rothsay Prince of Scotland, and with him the Earl of Douglas, were. The governor of Scotland raised an army to have given him battle, and was come to Calder-moor, but went no farther, and there disbanded his army. The English histories say, that the governor sent word to the King of England, that if he would stay for him but six days only, he would give him battle, and that the herald got a silk gown, and a gold chain, for his news, from the King; but the King having staid twice six could hear nothing of his coming. The cause of the governor's slackness is given out by some to have been the desire that he had, that the Duke of Rothsay might perish, and be taken out of the way, that he himself might come to the crown. Now as all do agree, that he had these ambitious thoughts, so Major sheweth that there was also some other particular between them, whereof he relateth the occasion to have been this: there was one John Remorgeny, who first laboured to persuade the Duke of Rothsay to cause slay the governor, and then (when he could not prevail with him to wrong his uncle) he dealt with the governor to cut off the Duke his ne-

phew, as one that would ruin him, if ever he should come to be King. This Remorgeny was seconded by Lindsay, who was upon the plot with him, and helped it forward, upon malice against Rothsay, who had betrothed his sister, and rejected her, as he had done to the Earl of March's eldest daughter. This seemeth not to be unlikely, and giveth some further light to the history, as containing the cause of the governor's not relieving the castle of Edinburgh. It is also a remarkable example of crafty counsellors, who are to be noted and avoided. And I marvel much how it hath escaped the diligence of our best writers. I thought it not to be omitted in this place, as an instance of fear concurring with ambition in the governor: and indeed these two are commonly joined together, and take matter each of other. Ambition bringeth fear with it, and fear spurreth forwards ambition toward that it aims at; as being not only honourable but necessary, and the only mean to secure a man's self: especially where it lighteth upon such counsellors as these were, to blow the fire, whereof princes had need to be aware, and stop the entry to the first motions thereof.

The black book of Scoon saith, that Henry IV. acknowledged himself to be, *semi Scotus de sanguine Cumini*, half a Scot of the blood of the Cummings; and that he took the Most High to witness, that he was not come to hurt the country, but only to have reason of some of the nobility, who had written to the King of France, that he was a traitor in the superlative degree, which letters his men had intercepted, and to try if the authors of these letters durst fight it with him. The manuscript saith, that he was disappointed of his purpose notwithstanding; for he thought to have taken the castle of Edinburgh, and to have made Scotland subject to him thereafter; but it being valiantly defended by the Earl Douglas, he was constrained to rise from before it with great loss and discontentment, and no great credit; especially for that the winter drew on apace, having sat down before it about the end of September. I am not ignorant that our writers give this Henry the commendation of great modesty in this journey, as being mindful of the courtesy shown to his father the Duke

of Lancaster in Scotland, and that they say, that he used the prisoners not cruelly but courteously, and that when he passed by the castles and forts of the country, he did only require of the captains and keepers of them, that his ensigns might be set on the top of the wall, as a token of their submission, and that they were in his will: but seeing their own authors deny him this honour, and say that he burnt the towns, villages and castles, even a great part of Edinburgh and Leith, we have small reason to contend with them for it; and so we accept of it, and follow the Scottish manuscript.

Upon Henry's departure, because the Earl of March troubled the country with frequent; rather than with great incursions, the Earl Douglas, who had the government of Lothian and the castle of Dunbar, went with an army into Northumberland, and wasted the country with great havock. At his return he gave order that the barons and gentlemen should choose some of their number to be captains, and allot unto them a competent number to follow them, who might by turns wait and be in readiness, either to resist the enemy, or to make an inroad upon him in his own country, as they should find occasion. The first turn fell to Thomas Haliburton Lord of Dirleton, who having entered England, and got a great booty near unto Bamburgh, returned home safe. But Patrick Hepburn of Hailes, (the younger) had not the like success; for he going upon the like adventure, had indeed taken a rich booty, but having staid a day longer than he should, and had been advised by his friends, in the enemies bounds, they gathered themselves together, and following him, overtook him at West-Nisbet in the Merse. There, after a sharp encounter, the Scots had got the better of the English, and well nigh the victory, till George Dunbar, the Earl of March's eldest son, coming in with 100 fresh horse, regained the victory to the English, and slew the flower of the youth of Lothian, together with their captain Patrick Hepburn. The fight happened the 22d of June 1401, the place whereof is yet called the Slaughter-hill.

This Patrick Hepburn was entirely beloved of the Earl

Douglas, and as dear to him as his own self; for he it was that fought so valiantly at Otterburn, and therefore he was filled with grief and indignation for his death; being so brave a captain, and so dear a friend to his house and to himself. His honour also, and the credit of his country, stirred him up to seek a revenge of the authors thereof. Whereupon having obtained leave of the governor, he gathered together about some 10,000 men, amongst whom were many of the chief nobility of the land, even the governor's eldest son Murdoch, who succeeded to his father in the government, George Earl of Angus his own uncle, Thomas Earl of Murray, and John Dunbar brother to the Earl of March, one that had married the King's sister. With this company he entered England as far as Newcastle upon Tyne, and having got a great booty, was retiring homeward. In his returning, near unto Milfield, Henry Hotspur and George Earl of March lay in his way with a far greater power than he had. Wherefore the Earl Douglas took a ground of advantage, which was a little hill besides Homildon, a village in Northumberland. Piercy would have marched straight towards him to have assailed him, but the Earl of March (being very skilful in war, and more calm and advised) staid him, and gave him counsel, first to send a flight of arrows amongst them, and to give them a volley of their field-pieces; which was done accordingly, and did greatly annoy the Scots, and slew many of them. Douglas perceiving that he could not bruike that place with safety, thought it better to hazard the battle in plain field than to stand still and see his men slain about him by the enemies shot, while they stood safe, and came not within stroke of their swords and long weapons. And so (though far inferior in number) down the hill he goes, and gave a fierce assault upon the enemy. But the van-guard being brangled, and giving back, being much troubled and sore pressed by the archers, though they were sharply rebuked by Adam Lord Gordon and Sir John Swinton, and brought on again; yet were they not able to sustain and abide the shot of the enemy, but were defeated entirely. The rest that were

behind, being exhorted by the captains to revenge the death of their fellows slain before their eyes, did acquit themselves bravely; but being overwhelmed with the greater number, were also overthrown at last. There were many slain, amongst whom were the forenamed Adam Lord Gordon, who had been at variance with the Earl Douglas, but in this expedition he had been reconciled to him and knighted by him, and Sir John Swinton, two that gained great reputation of valour and courage that day, and fought so valorously, that if the rest had followed their example, that field had not been so lost. There were also divers others of note, such as John Livingston of Calender, Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie, with a number of common soldiers. Many were taken of quality, Murdoch the governor's son, George Earl of Angus, Thomas Earl of Murray, Robert Erskine of Alloa, James Douglas eldest son to the Lord Dalkeith, and his two brothers John and William, George Lesly of Rothes, Patrick Dunbar of Beel.

In the black book of Scoon is set down the death of the foresaid George Earl of Angus, how he died in England of the plague, being a prisoner, with many others, and Alexander Home of Dunglas also, as the same book doth witness. The Earl Douglas himself was taken also, having lost one eye in the fight. This battle was fought on the Holy-rood-day in harvest or (as others) the 5th of May 1401, or 1402 rather as appeareth by the former history.

Whilst the Earl Douglas was prisoner in England, the Duke of Rothsay became so riotous, and insolently unruly, that his father not being able to govern him by his own authority, did commit him to his brother the governor's tuition, to be corrected and tamed by him. He made use of this occasion for compassing his own ambitious ends, or to be rid of the fear he had of him, shut him up in Falkland, and starved him to death. The black book of Scoon saith, that the Earl Douglas was with the governor when he brought the Duke from St. Andrews to Falkland: but it should rather seem that he hath been a prisoner in England when the Duke was thus

used; for if he had been at home, in all likelihood he would have reclaimed the Duke, being his brother-in-law, and have brought him out of his wild courses; or by his credit with the governor, would have saved him, and prevented such extremity, unless he had proceeded so far as to cast off the Earl's sister, whereof we hear nothing. And even in that case, seeing there is always some hope of reconciliation between man and wife, and therefore such fallings out are often borne within princes, upon that hope; it is likely he would have used his care and credit to have composed things in some better sort: however whether through his absence or negligence, or that having small hope of amendment, he would not meddle in it; the Duke persists in his lewd ways, and grows rather worse than better. We read of no help or assistance that the Douglas made unto him, as he was bound by so near alliance. Neither do we hear how he carried himself towards the Earl's sister his wife; or whether she had any children by him or not, though they had been married at that time some four or five years, and, he was a man of twenty-three or twenty-four years of age at the least, having been eighteen, when he was enstalled Duke in the year 1396, which is a great neglect and oversight in our writers. This is clear, that neither party had any contentment or comfortable success from this match, which they so much affected, and brought to pass with so great trouble, disquiet and mischief to the kingdom; a notable lesson for men to moderate their desires of any thing, and not to seek it over eagerly, though it seem never so advantageous, in respect of the uncertainty of the sequel and event of all human things.

But to return to our prisoner: we see him hurt, defeated, a captive, but neither disgraced nor discouraged; no, nor any whit less esteemed by his friends or enemies: who indeed needed not to be over-proud of this victory, which was obtained rather by the multitude of men than mere valour; neither were they yet quit with the house of Douglas for what they had received of them before: however these vicissitudes of fortune in the emulation of these two houses, Douglas and

Percy, were matter rather of sharpening than discouraging and dejecting their spirits, and bred not hatred, but an higher, though emulous esteem of each towards other. This overthrow and loss of the Earl Douglas did not diminish, but rather increase his praise and glory, and that even in the opinion of the conqueror. It became also the occasion of showing his worth in a more conspicuous and public theatre, and on a more eminent subject and powerful enemy: for not long after, the Earl of Northumberland, whether for envy of King Henry's good success, to whom he had been a great friend in the beginning; or for that Henry usurped the kingdom contrary to his oath and promise; or for his neglecting to relieve Edmond Mortimer Earl of March, taken prisoner in his service against Owen Glendower by the said Owen, or out of indignation against him for craving to have his prisoners from him, which he had taken at West-Nisbet and at Homildon, of whom only they had sent Murdoch Stewart to the King, or for whatever other cause, the said Earl entered into league with Edmond, Owen, and some other Lords, against the King, with such confidence, that they made a tripartite indenture, wherein they divided all England into three parts to each of them a third: whereupon Percy, esteeming highly of the Douglas's valour, having had good proof thereof at Homildon, offered, if he would take part with him in this enterprise, and show himself as valiant on his side, as he had done against him, that he should not only be let go without ransom, but also, if they prevailed, he should have Berwick and a part of Northumberland for his reward.

Douglas, who was nowise slack to embrace any good occasion against England, gladly accepted the condition, and getting leave to come home, returned again at the time appointed, well accompanied with many of his friends and followers. The leading of the vanguard was committed to him, which place he discharged bravely, and behaved himself so, as no man ever did more valiantly and admirably by all men's confession; for after the Scots who were led by him, had made a fierce onset upon the King's vanguard, conducted by the

Earl of Stafford, and forced them to give back, having almost broken their ranks, the King came to their aid with his fresh troops, and renewed the fight more fiercely than before. Douglas and Percy perceiving the King to be there in person bent their whole forces towards him with such violence, that if George Dunbar Earl of March, who had of late betaken himself to the King's side, had not warned the King to withdraw himself from that place, Douglas had certainly slain him; for he made so hard an onset on the King's standard, that he bore down all before him, and slew the Earl of Stafford with his own hands, who had been made constable of England that same day; as also three more, who were apparelled like the King: and when the King restored the battle again, and had broken the ranks of those that stood against him, Douglas seeing him the fourth man in royal apparel, he said aloud in great choler and indignation, *Where the devil were all these Kings born?* And withal running fiercely at him, beat him from his horse, and at the same instant slew Sir Walter Blunt, the King's standard-bearer, and overthrew the standard. But the King was rescued, and mounted again by those that were about him, especially by his own son, afterwards Henry V. and so escaped. At last the victory fell to the King's side, who had behaved himself most valorously, and is reckoned to have slain with his own hands thirty-six of the enemies. So that the victory is ascribed chiefly unto him, who did, both by word and example, encourage his soldiers, that they renewed the fight, slew the Lord Percy, and with him discomfited the whole host.

The Earl Douglas was taken prisoner, and brought to the King, who would on no wise consent to have him put to death, though divers persuaded him to it, but commended his faithfulness to his friend, and praised his valour, which he honoured much; in regard whereof, he both caused cure his wounds, and sent him rich presents. Some write, that being asked by those of the King's side, why he did join with such traitors against the King, his reply was only this, It seemeth saith he, that the King is yet alive, though divers Kings have

been killed to day. This answer being so full of resolution and courage, and void of all fear, did move the King to regard him so much the more. They tell also, that being hurt in his privy members, when, after the battle every man was reckoning his wounds, and complaining he said at last, when he had heard them all, *They sit full still that have a riven breik*. The speech continueth still in Scotland, and is past into a proverb, which is used to design such as have some hidden and secret cause to complain, and say but little.

Holinshed writeth, that in respect of his noble parentage and valour, he was tenderly cherished by King Henry, and frankly and freely discharged without ransom; and such indeed is the custom of generous minds, to honour virtue even in the enemy. It is generally agreed upon by all, that he was highly honoured and esteemed; so that the King, or some of his nobles, caused draw his picture which is still to be seen in the privy gallery at Whitehall. But touching his delivery, some say that when he had staid in England certain months, he was with difficulty set at liberty, after he had paid a great sum of money. Others write, that he was detained eight or nine years at least, but that seems to be too much; for this battle, called Shrewsbury-field, was in the year 1403, in the fourth year of King Henry, on St Magdalen's day, and Douglas was set free at the death, or not long after, of King Robert III. of Scotland, in the year 1406. When the Earl heard word of his death, he made shift to agree for his ransom, and so returned with all speed into Scotland. It is said, that George Earl of March did him very good offices in England, and was a chief mean and instrument of his delivery, being reconciled to him during his imprisonment; wherefore the Earl Douglas at his return procured liberty for the Earl of March to come home into Scotland, and to be received a free liege again; but upon condition that he should suffer the castles of Lochmaben and Dunbar to remain with the Earl Douglas and his heirs, notwithstanding of any agreement made between them to the contrary in England. And so in the year 1411, he was restored by the governor, after he had

remained fifteen years in England or thereby, having done great hurt to his country, and much good service to the Kings of England; but for all the service he did, he could neither move the King to restore him and repossess him again in his own, neither competent means and allowance for his estate and quality. A notable example for subjects, to learn hereby not to forsake their natural King, and native country, in hope to be supported or aided by foreign princes; far less thus to hurt and indamage their own country, for the pleasure and advantage of strangers.

The black book of Scoon ascribeth the restitution of the Earl of March, to Walter Haliburton son-in-law to the governor (*Gener Gubernatoris*) by marrying his daughter Isabel a widow and countess of Ross, for which he got from March a forty pound land in Birgeam, and that the Earl Douglas got back Lochmaben and the Lordship of Annandale: however it be, a year or two after the Earl Douglas was returned, the Earl March was restored, whereunto Holinshed also seemeth to agree: for in another place, after the death of King Robert, which he setteth in the year 1408, forgetting what he said before (that the King discharged Douglas frankly and freely) he writeth thus, “ Archibald “ Earl of Douglas, as yet remaining captive in England, after “ he had knowledge of King Robert’s death, (to wit, five “ years after this at least by his own account) made shift to “ agree for his ransom; and so being set at liberty, returned “ with all speed now at length into Scotland.” Wherein he contradicts himself, and casteth down all that liberality and unanimity of his King, in dismissing the Douglas freely, and with so much the more blemish, as in saying it was done, he acknowledged it should have been done, as it had indeed been most honourable and princely, and might perhaps have gained the heart of that worthy nobleman. But we find but few actions in that kind of full beneficence practised towards the Scots; and it seems that his great worth hath extorted their admiration, and some offices of courtesy and common humanity, such as were the preservation of his life, and curing of

his wounds: but the old grudge of national quarrel remaining still in vigour, did choak the fruit of true princely dealing, and kept it that it came not to that full maturity of beneficence which the party deserved, and was suitable for such a King. Wherefore let him content himself with this honour, that his valour was acknowledged abundantly, and himself, by the confession of King Henry's own heralds, accounted one of the chief chevaliers and champions in Albion; and let him thank his own prowess more than their kindness for this testimony. We will also add a witness of these in our times, one of their own poets, Samuel Daniel, who speaking of King Henry's son, who relieved his father in the battle of Shrewsbury from the Earl of Douglas, he writeth thus.

Hadst thou not here lent present speedy aid
To thy endanger'd father nearly tir'd,
From fierce encountering Douglas overlaid,
That day had there his troubled life expir'd.
Heroical courageous Blunt array'd
In habit like as was the King attir'd,
And deem'd for him, excus'd the fault of his.
For he had what his Lord did hardly miss.

Lib. III. Stanza. CXIII.

Taking Blunt for one of those that were apparelled like the King; whereas others account him to have been the King's standard bearer. But in the wars between York and Lancaster, it is more amply set down in this sort.

Yet here had he not speedy succour lent
To his endangered father, near oppress,
That day had seen the full accomplishment
Of all his travails; and his final rest:
For Mars like Douglas all his forces bent
T' encounter and to grapple with the best;
As if disdaining any other thing
To do that day, but to subdue a King.

Lib. IV. Stanza XLIX.

And there, with fiery courage, he assails
Three all as Kings adorned in royal ways,
And each successive after other quails;
Still wondering whence so many Kings should rise:
And doubting lest his hands or eye-sight fails,
With these confounded on the fourth he flies,

And him unhorses too, whom had he sped,
He then all Kings in him had vanquished.

Stanza L.

For Henry had divided as it were
The person of himself into four parts,
To be less known, and yet known every where,
The more to animate his people's hearts;
Who cheered by his presence, would not spare
To execute their best and worstest parts:
By which two special things affected are,
His safety and his subjects better care.

Stanza LI.

And in Stanza LIV. speaking of Hotspur.

But he as Douglas, with his fury led
Rushing into the thickest woods of spears,
And brooks of swords, still laying at the head.

Then a little after in the LVI. upon the killing of Hotspur.

Which thus mispent, thy army presently
As if it could not stand, when thou wert down,
Disperst in rout, betakes them all to flee:
And Douglas, faint with wounds, and overthrown,
Was taken; who yet wan the enemy
Which took him, by his noble virtue shown
In that day's mighty work, and was preserv'd.
With all the grace and honour he deserv'd.

And that was all, to be preserved and respected, but not easily nor soon dismissed; for, besides what hath been said of this point, there is an indenture yet extant, which contains the agreement betwixt King Henry and him; that whereas the said Earl was lawful prisoner to him, or to his son John of Lancaster, he should have free liberty to return to his own country of Scotland, upon his giving of twelve noble hostages for his re-entering into the castle of Durham, being then in the custody of the said John of Lancaster. The hostages were, 1. Archibald Douglas his own eldest son and heir, 2. James his brother, 3. James son and heir to James Lord Dalkeith, 4. Sir John Montgomery Lord of Adderson, 5. Sir John Seton, son and heir to the Lord Seton, 6. Sir William Douglas of Drumlanrig, 7. Sir William Sinclair of Hermiton, 8. Sir Simon Glendining son and heir to Sir Adam of

Glendining. 9. Sir John Harris, Lord of Terregles, 10. Sir Harbert Maxwell, 11. Sir William Hay, 12. Sir William Borthwick. The condition bears, that upon the Earl's re-entry of his person into the wards of the said John of Lancaster, the said hostages were to be set free to repair with safe conduct to their own countries, and that within forty days after the Earl's re-entry, or after his death: and that the prince Thomas, and his said brother John, and the Earl of Westmoreland should be obliged by express commandment from the King to secure the said hostages, during the time of their abode and residence in England. And if the Earl should fail of his re-entry again, that the said hostages should be at the King's disposing. And in case the Earl should die, his eldest son and heir was to abide prisoner with the King in his son's keeping, and the rest of the hostages were to be set free immediately. And further it was conditioned, that the Earl should do his uttermost to keep the truce that had been treated of between the King, his council, and the said Earl; and that he should cause it to be ratified and confirmed by both the realms of Scotland and England for 16 years: and in case he could not obtain that, that then the said Earl for himself, and his countries between the east and west seas, inhabited by any of his men and vassals, should keep truce with England from Pasch next, till Pasch thereafter. These conditions were drawn up by the King's council in the form of an indenture, whereof each had a counterpane, signed, sealed and delivered reciprocally by the said parties at London, the 14th of March 1407.

During the time of his captivity in England, the Duke of Rothsay was famished to death by his uncle the governor, who being accused thereof by the King his brother, made such a slender purgation, that the King fearing he would do the like to his other son James, sent him by sea to France, where he might remain in safety, until he were come to years. But being driven in by storm of weather into the coasts of England, he was detained as a prisoner by the King and State. Hereupon followed the death of the desolate father, and the

continuance of the governor in his office. And now Douglas, being come home, in the year 1411, he kept good correspondence with the Earl of March ever after; for there had always been friendship betwixt the two houses of March and Douglas, until the match with the Duke of Rothsay did separate them; and now that being away and digested; and March having furthered Douglas's delivery out of captivity, and Douglas procured, or helped to procure March's peace and restitution, they joined ever thereafter in all common affairs. Some write that those two did burn the town of Roxburgh, but it seems to be a mistake; for what was done ere they came home by William Douglas of Drumlanrig, and Gawin, third son to the Earl of March. After their return, there is no mention of any exploit of war between Scotland and England for the space of ten years; whether it were that there hath been any truce, or that Henry IV. dying, his son Henry V. was so taken up with the war with France, that he had no leisure to look towards Scotland, or that the governor durst not attempt any thing against him, for fear he should send home the rightful heir to the crown of Scotland, whom he had in his power and custody, and who he doubted not, would find favour enough in Scotland, both for his right, and out of commiseration of his state and condition. So there was nothing done, except some slight and private inroads, such as when the Earl Douglas burnt Penrith, a town in England, at which the Earl March is also said to have been in the year 1414.

In the year 1420, the governor died, and his son Murdoch was made governor in his place, having been relieved a little before by interchange of a son of the Earl of Northumberland. He was of a dull and heavy spirit, and of no authority, not so much as to govern his own family, which made him to be little regarded. About this time the civil war in France grew hot between Charles VI. King of France, Philip Duke of Burgundy, and Henry V. of England on the one part, and the Dauphin of France on the other; for Philip of Burgundy had persuaded the King of France to disinherit his

Son the Dauphin, and to give the crown with his daughter to Henry of England. So that the Dauphin, afterwards King Charles VII. was reduced to that extremity, that his enemies called him in derision King of Bourge, because his residence for the most part was in Bourge in Berry. Wherefore he being thus abandoned by his own countrymen, and destitute of all foreign help, sent this year the Earl of Vendosme ambassador into Scotland, to crave aid, according to the antient league, and made great promises to all the Scots that would assist him in this quarrel. It was willingly granted by the whole state, and 7000 men agreed upon as a competent number for that service, which was soon made of volunteers, the youth of Scotland being now greatly multiplied by long peace with England. Their generals were John Earl of Buchan and Archibald Earl of Wigton, the one the son, and the other son-in-law to Archibald Earl of Douglas.^e

Whilst they were busied in France, the Earl Douglas was not idle at home, for the black book of Scoon beareth that he went with an army to besiege the castle of Roxburgh, and with the governor Murdoch, against Berwick; but they returned both without effecting any thing, by reason of the treachery of some Scots; wherefore this was named the *Foul Road*. We read of Douglas also how he was judge to a duel in Bothwelhaugh between John Hardy and Thomas Smith. This Smith had accused the other of treason; which Hardy denying, and the other not being able to prove it by witnesses, the combat was appointed for trial of it, in which Smith the accuser was slain. The same book also saith, that in the year 1420 or 21 the Earl Douglas entered England, and burnt the town of Alnwick.

But here it will not be impertinent for us to step over to France, and see what Buchan and Wigton are doing, seeing that this employment gave Wigton occasion to show himself there, and did afterwards draw over his father the Earl Douglas thither; and the order of time doth also lead us to speak of those things in this place. We have told before how John Stewart Earl of Buchan, who was second son to the

former governor, and brother to Murdoch present governor of Scotland, and Archibald Douglas Earl of Wigton, whose sister Buchan had married, were chosen to conduct the forces sent into France, to aid the Dauphin against the King of England and Duke of Burgundy. The chief gentlemen of note and quality that went along with them, were Robert Stewart, another son of the governor's, Alexander Lindsay Brother to the Earl of Crawford, and John Swinton, knights, being arrived in France, they were received by the Dauphin with great joy, and made heartily welcome; who gave them the town and castle of Chastillon in Touraine for their rendezvous and place of retreat and resort, being a fertile country, and abounding in all things necessary; as also for that it lay near unto the enemy, for the Duke of Clarence, King Henry's brother and lieutenant, was about to have spoiled the country of Anjou, or as Hollinshed says, had spoiled it already, and had retired into the town of Beaufort in the valley, and was ready to assault a town called *Vieille Bauge*, old Bauge, some two days before Pasch. The Scots expecting, that as the manner then was, he would have abstained from all feats of arms, and have given himself to the devotion of the time: or having, as some others say, taken and given assurance for eight days, which is the space of time commonly bestowed upon that solemnity, were somewhat remiss and negligent in their discipline. The Duke of Clarence having notice hereof by a Lombard called Andrew Fregosa, as some say, or by some Scottish prisoner intercepted, as the annals of France do bear, who discovered to him the government of their army, and the carriage of their leaders and captains, was very glad of so good occasion, as he deemed it; to take them at unawares, and defeat them. Wherefore he rose presently from dinner, and taking with him only the horsemen, leaving the archers under the conduct of the bastard of Clarence, Sir Thomas Beaufort, whom he had lately knighted at Angiers, together with two Portugal captains to assist him, he made straight toward the enemy, saying, that he and the nobles only would have the honour of that day: he went with great confidence

to have surprised the enemy, carrying a fair coronet of gold on his head, and very magnificently apparelled, as if he had been riding in triumph.

There was a village called little Bauge, through which the Duke was to come, where a few Frenchmen of the Dauphin's side lay. These being terrified with the sudden coming of the English, got up into a steeple for safety and sanctuary: there while they make a halt and assault the steeple, the cry riseth, and the noise of their approach was carried to the rest of the army, who presently ran and took arms. While they were arming themselves, Buchan and Wigton sent thirty archers to keep a certain bridge, by which it behoved the enemy to pass over a brook which ran in the way. These went as they were commanded; and as they were going, Hugh Kennedy came out of a church where he lay with an hundred men, but unarmed, or half armed, by reason of the great haste, and joined with them: while they defended and made good the bridge, and kept off the horsemen with shot of arrows, the Duke, with the principal of his company alighted from their horse, and made such an onset upon them, that they were forced to leave the bridge and passage open for the enemy. Being past the bridge, while the Duke mounteth again on horseback, and the rest of his folks are passing after him, Buchan and Wigton came upon him with two hundred horse, and enter there into a sharp conflict on both sides, both parties being most part noble men, who were desirous of glory, and had a mind to give a proof of themselves with equal courage and hatred. The Scots were glad to have occasion to show the French what they could do; and to confute their whisperings and surmises, wherein they reproached them, as fit only to consume victuals, and the English were moved with great indignation, that they should be thus perpetually troubled by the Scots, not only at home, but also abroad beyond the sea in a foreign country.

And none among the English fought with a greater courage and resolution than the Duke himself: but Sir John Swinton espying him, being easily known by his coronet

shining with precious stones, and his glistering armour, ran fiercely at him with a lance, and wounded him in the face, he being hereby in a great fury, put forward his horse to have charged the enemy, but was encountered by the earl of Buchan, who ran him through with a spear, and so slew him; or, as others, felled him down to the ground with a steel hammer. The rest seeing him fall, some fled, and many were slain in their flight, being pursued till the night came on. This battle was fought on Pasch Eve, in the year 1420, or, as our writers and the English say, 1421. There were slain of the English 200 nobles and gentlemen, the Duke of Clarence, the Earl of Tankerville, the Lord Ross, Sir Gilbert Umfravile; whom they call Earl of Angus, John Lumley, Sir Robert the Earl of Somerset and his brother whose sister James I. did marry afterward, Suffolk and Perch, the Lord Fitzwater, Sir John Barclay, Sir Ralph Nevil, Sir Henry Inglis, Sir William Lanton, Sir Thomas Boroughs, were taken prisoners. There were but few slain of the Scots and French, and those mean and obscure men. This is the most common report of the Duke of Clarence's death, but the book of Pluscardin saith, that he was slain by Alexander Maclellan, a knight in the Lennox, who also having taken the coronet from off his head sold it to John Stewart of Darnley for 1000 angels.

This victory being obtained, most part by the valour of the Scots, the Dauphin, in recompence hereof, made Buchan constable of France, and mortgaged the Dukedom of Touraine to Wigton, the revenue whereof at that time was valued to 10,000 crowns. The reversion of this dutchy he gave afterwards to the Earl Douglas his father, who was created absolute Duke of Touraine and Lord of Longueville and established the same to his male heirs, as shall be shown hereafter. The French writers say also, that he made Wigton Marshal of France.

The King of England, upon the death of his brother, came into France in May, or about the beginning of June, and carried along with him the heir of the crown of Scotland, afterwards King James I. thereby to divert the Scots from assisting

the Dauphin or to have made the Dauphin to suspect their fidelity: but none of those plots succeeded as he would have had them; for neither would they acknowledge him for their King, being in another's power, neither did the Dauphin conceive any sinister opinion or jealousy of them; wherefore the same year, or the next, to wit, 1421, the Dauphin caused besiege the town of Cosne upon Loire; and Henry departed from Paris to have relieved it, but by the way he was overtaken with sickness, and returned to Bois de Vincennes; yet he sent the Duke of Bedford with a puissant army to succour it, and the Scots and French finding themselves too weak to resist, rose and retired to a strength, where the rest of the army had assembled with resolution to abide the enemy's coming. While as the English were preparing to fight, news were brought them of their King's death, which made them to alter their purpose of giving battle. The King died about the last of August 1421, and his corps was carried into England the 22d of October. Not long after, Charles King of France died also, which was the occasion that Buchan and Wigton, with many of the gentlemen that accompanied him, returned into Scotland.

But it was not long ere the Dauphin had need of them, sent his chancellor Rene de Chartres, and the archbishop of Rhemes, into Scotland to recal his constable, but the Earl of Wigton was so vehemently sick that he could not possibly travel; wherefore the Earl Douglas his father went in person himself, and being a nobleman greatly regarded, far above any other subject in Scotland, there went with him great store of young gentlemen, some to do him honour, some to be participant of his fortunes, and most to be trained under him in discipline of war; so besides those that went over with Buchan and Wigton in the year 1420, there went at this time with the Earl Douglas 10,000 more, as saith Hollinshed. They landed at Rochel, and being to come to the Dauphin, were gladly welcomed and much made of, especially the Earl Douglas, of whom he heard much by report, that he was both valiant and skilful in war; and therefore he installed him in the dutchy of Tou-

raine, which he gave to him his heirs for ever, having only engaged it before to his son, upon reversion, and moreover made him Marshal of France.

This hath been, in all appearance, in the year 1423 at most, yet we do not find any memorable thing done by them, or against them, until the battle of Vernoil, which, if we read our histories, one would think it had been fought immediately upon their landing, though it be clear that it was not till after the death of King Henry V. and in the second year of his son's reign, in the year of God 1424: the occasion whereof was this: the Earl of Bedford having besieged Yvry, the Dauphin, to relieve it, sendeth the army under the conduct of the Duke of Touraine, whom the French call Marshal Douglas, of the constable Buchan the Earl of Narbonne, and others. They not being able to force Bedford's camp, when they were come within two miles of him, returned towards Vernoil in Perch, which belonged to the King of England, and sent word to the garrison there, that they had discomfited the English army, and that Bedford with a small number had saved himself by flight. The garrison giving credit thereto, did open the gates, and received them with the whole army, into the town, where having left a part of their army, they came and encamped in the fields near the town. Bedford having got Yvry by composition or surrender, followeth them and sent word to the Duke of Touraine by a trumpet, that he would come and dine with him. The Duke bade him come, he should be very welcome, for all was ready: nevertheless, when the point came to consultation, his opinion was, that they should not fight at that time, because he thought it not fit to hazard a battle but in case of necessity, and that they had no necessity to fight at that time, in respect that they had Vernoil in their hands, and other two good towns besides, whereby they might be plentifully furnished with provisions, which the English could not have, and thereby would be constrained to retire: but the Earl of Narbonne was earnest to have them fight, and said, the nobility of France should not receive such a bravade from the enemies, and if none would

fight, he would do it alone; and so getting him hastily out of the counsel, he began to put his men in order.

The Duke of Touraine took such indignation hereat, that he should offer to fight without his leave, that he determined not to have stirred at all, and it was long before he would suffer his men to go forth; yet at last, thinking that it would reflect upon him if he should sit still, and see them overthrown in his sight, he armed and went forth also: but then there arose some strife for the vanguard betwixt them, which made things to be so confusedly handled, that the English got the victory, slew the Duke, Buchan, Sir Alexander Lindlay, Robert Stewart, and Sir John Swinton, with above 2000 others of all sorts. Hollinshed, in his chronicle of England, saith, but upon what warrant we know not, that the Earl Buchan constable was not slain, but lost an eye only, and was taken prisoner: he reckoneth among the slain Sir Alexander Home, whom our writers do not mention, yet it is true, and known to them of that house, that Sir Alexander Home of Dunglas went thither in the Earl Douglas's company, and was slain with him; for they tell how Sir Alexander being minded to send his brother David Home of Wedderburn, went to accompany the Earl to his ship and when they were parting, Douglas embracing him kindly, said to him, would I have believed, Sir Alexander, that ever you and I could have been separated from one another? To whom he replied, surely then, my Lord, I shall not part: and so taking his brother David's apparel and furniture, he went with him, and sent David back to take care of his house and children in his absence, or in case of his death, which he also did with such fidelity and industry after the death of his brother, that he greatly increased the estate, and purchased for a younger son of his brother's called Thomas, the lands of Tiningham, and for another, named James, the lands of Spot. He is said to have purchased Wedderburn for himself; but the truth is, he had it ten years before, not by marriage, but by the gift of Archibald Earl of Douglas, which must have been the same Duke of Touraine, as the date of the evident doth clearly

show, being of the year 1413. His son Archibald also intitling himself Earl of Wigton, and Lord of Longueville and Eskdale, giveth to the same Sir Alexander Home a bond of 1000 nobles, dated at Bothwell the 9th of February 1424, whom it designeth Sir Alexander Home of that ilk, which I mention the rather to show what great friendship hath been between them.

Here again I cannot pass by the sloth, and inattentiveness of writers, Scots and English, who reckon amongst the slain here a son of the Earl of Douglas, whom some call James, and make him his second son, nay some do even make him his eldest son and heir, and call him Earl of Wigton: but those are all mistakes for the Earl of Wigton, whose name was Archibald, was left sick at home, and possessed the Earldom after his father's death; neither yet was it James, his second son, who was Lord of Abercorn, and outlived his elder brother, and his children that were put to death in the castle of Edinburgh, to whom also he succeeded in the Earldom, as the same writers themselves, almost all of them, confess: wherefore the reader had need even to read the best writers with judgement and attention, seeing such escapes are incident even to the most accurate and careful historians.

Touching this battle, this is the relation of it by De Serres, in his inventory, whom I have chosen to follow, not because I think it the fullest or faithfulest narration, (for certainly the French writers speak slenderly enough of the actions of strangers as may be instanced in the battle of Bauge, and other exploits done by the Scots in France, which they pass in silence) but because his testimony cannot be rejected by the French, and may well be admitted by the English, as being indifferent for his person, and nowise partial in his pen, at least in setting forth this battle; but if we shall rely upon the writings or reports of our own countrymen, the loss of that field was caused for the envy and treachery of the Earl of Narbonne. We heard how Douglas and he contested for the vanguard, each striving who should be first: Douglas being ready sooner than he, or being quicker in his march, led

on before him, and charged the enemy first, whereupon he abandoned them, and would not second them as he should have done; and so it came to pass, that they being destitute of his help, and not being able to make head against such a multitude, were encompassed about by the English, who saw their backs left bare, and so overthrown, fighting valiantly, that they might die nobly. Some blame the Lombards, who were in the army assisting the French that were for the Dauphin, but tell not why, nor wherefore, nor wherein; others say, that there were 400 of them all horsemen, who being commanded to break the ranks of the English, either in the flank or in the rear, did what they were appointed to do, and having broken through the English army, went to their carriage to pillage and spoil, without prosecuting their charge any further, and so having got their prey, departed off the field; whereupon 2000 English archers, that were set to keep the carriage and had now no more to do, entered into the battle, and being fresh and unwearied, made such an impression, that they did cast the balance and gave the overthrow; whereas before they had fought for the space of three hours so doubtfully, that no eye could guess which way the victory would go.

Major also telleth us, that there was some dissension between the Duke of Touraine and Buchan for precedency, but that is not likely; for although Buchan had the honour to be constable, and was the chief commander, so long as he had no other colleague but Wigton his brother-in-law, yet the Earl Douglas being an old experienced commander, and it being ever his due to lead the vanguard at home, and being even there, for his well known worth and sufficiency, made Duke and Marshal upon his first arrival, it carrieth no appearance that the other would strive with him, especially seeing he was his son-in-law, for he had married his daughter, and also the younger soldier; and that the English did acknowledge the Duke for chieftain, is evident, for Bedford sent the trumpet to him, and he returned answer: it was he that resolved they should not fight, and took it ill at Narbonne's hands that he

would not follow his conclusion, and obey his direction; so as I cannot be persuaded that there could, or would be any difference between them for that matter; and if there had been any, they would have composed it, and agreed betwixt themselves before that time to have resisted the common enemy: however they both died in the field; and the Earl of Narbonne wanted not the reward either of his treachery or headiness and folly, for he was taken and hanged as guilty of the death of the Duke of Burgundy: a notable example of the end of such as carry themselves after such a manner.

Of those that escaped at this defeat Charles the Dauphin, afterwards King Charles VII. erected a company, to continue a guard to himself and his successors for ever, of the Scots nation; for he was not contented to reward their nobles and leaders with honours and dignities, but thought himself also obliged to recompense even the inferior sort, and to respect the whole nation, whose valour and fidelity he had found to deserve rewarding; as also he saw their service would be steady to him, and therefore in wisdom did thus oblige the whole country, and engage them to assist him in his war with England; and so they did, as now, and so often hereafter both within the Isle and in France, neither could they ever be diverted by any loss or damage whatsoever: they did still cleave fast unto the French, until they were fully freed from the English, sending over army after army, and captain after captain, without wearying or relenting, or the least shrinking; and even after this battle we read of divers that spent their lives in the French's quarrel against the English, and that within three years, notwithstanding this great loss, who were men of quality, such as William Stewart and his brother, and two Douglasses who were predecessors of the houses of Drumlanrig and Lochleven. There was also amongst those that escaped at this battle of Vernoil, one John Carmichael of the house of Carmichael in Douglasdale, who was chaplain to the Duke of Touraine, a valiant and learned man, who remained in France, and was his worth and good parts made bishop of Orleans; he it was, that, during the siege thereof, did notably

assist Joan d' Arc, called the Maiden of Orleans. The French history calleth him *Jean de Saint Michael*, (for Carmichael) *evesque de Orleans, Escossis de nation*; he is mentioned in the particular story of that maiden, and in the *Annales ecclesiæ Aureliensis, Auotore Carolo Sausseyo Aureliano*; wherefore in the principal church in Orleans, called Saint Croix, there is mass said for the souls of the Scots daily that were slain there. But to return:

The Duke of Touraine being thus slain, was buried in the church of Tours, called Saint Gratian's, the 20th of August, in the year 1424, whose coat of arms was to be seen not long ago upon the gates of Tours. He was a man no where branded with any vice, and of unquestioned valour, for so much as belonged to his own person, equal to any that were before him; neither can I see any evident fault in his conduct and leading: it is true, Major taxeth him as unskilful and unfit for matters of war, though he gives him a large commendation of courage and personal valour; but he seemeth to have grounded his censure more upon the success than upon his actions, to which we will answer with the poet, *Cereat successibus opto, Quis quis ab eventu, &c.* or if that will not serve, we will choke him with the French proverb, *le clerc aux armes*, he is not a fit judge of such things. But we have to do with one more judicious indeed, who glanceth at him no less, for speaking of his father Archibald the Grim, he saith that chivalry stood in him, as though he would have said, it fell also with him; which seemeth to prejudge this his son Tine-man, if not in his valour, which no man can call in question, yet in his conduct and leading, which is the chief property and quality of a general and commander; of which judgement questionless the ground is the same, his hard success in his enterprizes; and there is no reason that he should be thought so of for it, if there be no other cause of evil success; but if there may be some other reason, and if many well guided armies and enterprizes have miscarried, which none will deny, there is no necessity nor just cause why he should be double burdened both with ill luck and the blame of it, unless it be showed

where and how he erred, which neither he nor any other historian doth: we must therefore absolve him, as free from this imputation, seeing they do not make it appear, that he was guilty of any error or oversight either at Homildon, Shrewsbury, or Vernoil; on the contrary, his wariness and circumspection may sufficiently appear to the attentive and judicious reader: let not then his praise be lessened, or his glory eclipsed by his cross fortune, nor himself esteemed any whit inferior to his predecessors; nay he deserveth to have so much more praise, as that his worth doth shine through the thick cloud of the frownings of fortune, whereas their glory is increased and lustred with the beams of a prosperous issue in their exploits.

*Archibaldus Duglassius Dux Turonensis et Johannes Stuartus
Buchanice Comes ad Vernolium cæsi.*

*Gallia vos titulis; vos Gallica regna tropæis
Auxistis, meritis utraque regna cluunt,
Tertia si invidcant quid mirum? ingentia damna
Queis data, Saxonidum dum cecidere duces.
Desine lingua procax verbis incessere: testis
Gallus adhuc, servat tot monumenta ducum.
Et vos æternum memorabit Gallia cives
Grata suos, titulos quæ dedit, et tumulos.*

Archibald Douglas Duke of Touraine, and John Stewart Earl of Buchan his son-in-law, constable of France, killed at Vernoil.

France gave you titles, you it trophies gave;
Both kingdoms mutual obligation have;
If the third envied it: their loss receiv'd
Might well excuse them, being oft bereav'd
Of their most ancient leaders; no bold tongue,
By base detraction, can have power to wrong
Your merit, and the French will witness bear,
To whom your memory shall still be dear:
Their grateful monuments the same express,
As do the places you do there possess,

Archibaldus Dux Turonensis, &c.

Bis victus, captusque amisso milite; cæsus
Denique cum sociis, Vernoliæ occubui:
Dura meis raro affulsit victoria signis:
Nostra tamen nusquam sunt data terga fugæ.
Semper at ingentes hæc dextra reliquit acervos,
Hostibus et semper maxima damna dedit.
Hinc fortis magnique ducis veracibus ornant
Me titulis; nec non hostis et ipse colit.
In me virtutem videas, verumque laborem:
Fortunam proprio quis regat arbitrio?
Discito, ab eventu qui censes facta virosque,
Exemplo, non sic esse notanda, meo.

Archibald Tine-man Duke of Touraine.

Twice with my army's rout I lost the field;
 Now, with my friends, I am at Vernoil kill'd;
 My labours hardly met with victory,
 Yet did I never stay behind, nor flie,
 But kill'd my foes on heaps: my valiant arm
 Did ever bring revenge, and equal harm.
 Hence was I honoured, as most fit to be
 A leader, courted ev'n by th' enemy,
 In me you may the height of worth behold;
 But ah, who in his power can fortune hold?
 O! you, who from th' event your censure take,
 Disprove yourselves, and me the instance make.

Of ARCHIBALD the Fourth of that Name, the Fourteenth Lord, and Fifth Earl of DOUGLAS, he was the First Earl of Wigton, Lord of Bothwell, Gallo-way and Annandale, the Second Duke of TOURAINE, Lord of Longueville, and Marshal of France.

UNTO Archibald Tine-man succeeded his eldest son Archibald: he had to wife Mauld Lindsay, daughter to David

Earl of Crawford. He was married at Dundee with great solemnity and pomp. This alliance hath been the occasion of Crawford's going with him into France, as we told before, and the ground of that friendship that was betwixt Earl William, slain at Stirling, and that Earl Crawford, whereof we shall hear more hereafter. It appeareth also, that there hath been continual friendship betwixt these houses from the first Earl Douglas's time, who procured a pardon for Crawford, who had slain John Lyon. His children were William, David, and a daughter named Beatrix. The time that he possessed the Earldom of Douglas, from his father's death in the year 1424, until the year 1439, is fifteen years; all the time of King James I. and about two years in the minority of King James II. So that the estate of the country may easily be known, if we call to mind what hath been said of the death of King Robert III. and of Robert the governor, to whom his son Murdoch did succeed in the government, before the King came home out of England.

This Murdoch, when he had governed, or rather misgoverned some three years or four, being provoked by an insolent fact of his eldest son Walter, who to despite his father, had wrung off the neck of a hawk which he loved, determined in revenge hereof, to send and fetch home the King out of England, and to possess him of his kingdom.

'No other motive we read of to induce him to this; whether it be because there were no other, or because they have not been careful to set down the true cause, I know not. But if this were indeed, it is so memorable, that it deserveth not to be passed over with a dry foot, as we say, and without observation: for who can but wonder at so rare a fact betwixt a father and a son, as the like is not extant elsewhere in any record or history, and hath not been heard of, I think, since the world stood, that a man to spite his son, should quite a kingdom, whereof he was possest, and saw no other appearance but to enjoy it still. I confess there hath been much unnatural unkindness in the world, whereby they have procured the death and destruction of those, whose safety they were

tied by the bonds of nature to maintain: but that hath been for their own honour and dignity, to obtain the place, or continue in it, which men do so much aspire unto: but that their unnatural despite should reach so far, as to undo themselves, and to quit a kingdom, for obtaining and retaining whereof ambitious men turn the world upside down, only to satisfy a passionate humour, or malice conceived against their own child; let him that can parallel it, and put this up in his notebook for a second instance at least. It was for love of his cousin, for respect to equity, out of duty to God, and love of his country, which he saw he himself could not, and his son would not govern rightly; and therefore thought fittest to resign it to him that both could and would do it. But then our writers do him wrong, that never signify that such was his mind, nor not in the least word, and mention only his own anger, and the instigation of Colin Campbell, a chief man in Argyle, who blew the coal, out of a private spleen against Walter, who had done him some injury: but however it were, whether his spite moved him to do justice, or desire to do justice caused despite, he threatened to do it to his son, and performed what he threatened; for he sent ambassadors into England to have the King released, of which this Archibald was chief, about the time of his very first coming to the Earldom. He, with his two colleagues, William Hay constable, and Henry bishop of Aberdeen, carried the matter so wisely, that they brought it to a conclusion, which was the more easily effected; because King James married a lady of England without portion, which they thought would move him to forget any wrong he had received by their unjust detention. The ambassadors also condescended on a ransom to be paid, though none were due from him, who never was lawful prisoner. So at last he was released, came home, and was crowned King the 22d of May, 1424.

We have heard hitherto the rise of the house of Douglas, and the continual increasing thereof by their great deserts, with the approbation and applause of all men, with the goodwill and liking of their princes for the space of many years;

their princes delighting to employ them, and they endeavouring to serve their princes and their country to the uttermost of their power, with a good harmony, and happy agreeing on all sides. Let us now be contented from henceforth, to find the world to be the self same still, that is, rolling and tumbling by perpetual vicissitudes and changes: for though this house shall still grow up, and to a higher pitch than ever; yet this concordance shall not continue so full, but shall begin to have some jarring, their princes being jealous of them, they standing in fear of their princes, sometimes in favour, sometimes out of favour; sometimes employed, and sometimes neglected; having men's affections sometimes towards them, sometimes averse from them, liking and disliking by turns and fits.

They also for their parts were now well contented, then mal-contented: now dealing in affairs, then withdrawing from all meddling in state business, from whence did spring discords, imprisonments, banishments, slaughters; which things beginning in this man's time at his committing, strangeness and discontents continued in the next, and proceeded in his son's time to his putting to death, and was transferred as hereditary to his successors, with many interchanging of smilings and frownings of fortune and court, which at last ended in that fearful catastrophe of the final ruin of this flourishing family, in the year 1483; which troubles continued the space of fifty-nine or sixty years, beginning at King James I's return into Scotland.

For the very first year of his reign, this Earl Douglas is committed toward, but is soon released; and then within some few years, was committed again. For his first commitment, there is no cause thereof recorded, only the time thereof doth furnish some matter of conjecture, together with other circumstances set down. As for the time, it was when Duke Murdoch and his sons Walter and Alexander, and their mother, and her father Duncan Stewart, Earl of Lennox, were committed. The circumstances are, that he was not alone, but with him twenty-four Earls and Barons were committed likewise, amongst

whom there were some of the King's own special friends and kindred, as William Earl of Angus who was the King's sister's son, and so Duke Murdoch's cousin. The Earl of Douglas was also allied with him: for John Earl of Buchan, son to Robert the governor, had married Douglas's sister; and there had been correspondence and friendship betwixt the governor and Archibald the Grim, as also Archibald Tine-man, this Earl's father and grandfather, and Buchan and this Earl had been fellows in arms together in France at Bauge; as also Buchan and Archibald Tine-man were slain together at Vernoil: likewise the Earl of March, who had been restored by Duke Murdoch's father, and had kept good friendship with him, and his son after his restitution; Robert Stewart of Roth-house, Stewart of Dundonald, John Stewart of Carden, being also of the name of Stewart, and all of some nearness of blood to Murdoch, as the King himself also was. The rest, Hepburn of Hailes, Hay of Yester, Ramsay of Dalhousie, Haliburton of Dirleton, we find to have been dependers of the houses of Douglas and March: and the rest also, Walter Ogilvy, Alexander Seton, or Gordon, Hay of Errol, Scrimgeour constable of Dundee, have been friends and followers of the house of Douglas, as we find they did assist and accompany them in divers battles, and have also perhaps had some friendship with the Duke or his father-in-law, as commonly the nobility are allied, and of kin one to another. Who, therefore, though they were willing that their lawful and rightful prince should enjoy his own place, would not agree so easily to the putting to death of those whom the King was resolved to make out of the way. Now what it was that moved the king to this course, whether desire to be revenged of the cruelty of Robert the governor, their father, toward David Duke of Rothsay his elder brother, or for his misdemeanor and undutifulness towards his father Robert III. or for his neglecting himself in his captivity, or for that he esteemed all that government of Robert and Murdoch to be an usurpation of the crown, and feared the like hereafter, or even perhaps found such practisings to his prejudice, is uncertain. How-

ever being resolved to rid himself of them, he thought it the safest way to make them fast, who he believed would not be so well contented with it as he desired. He did therefore commit them till he had tried their minds, and drawn them to his course, or at least taken order with them to sit quiet. And this was not long a-doing; for we read that the foresaid prisoners were all shortly relieved, and some of them also put upon the others' jury, or assize, as Douglas, March, Angus, Errol: but by what means he hath constrained them to be content, or what remonstrance or evidence he hath given them, to let them see that those men were guilty of death, or what crime they died for, if any new conspiracy, or what else, our histories tell us not, which is a great defect in them. Major thinketh it likely that there was some conspiracy found against the King, otherwise they would never, saith he, have condemned such men to death, princes of the blood; as we may call them, and their own special friends. And thus much of the Earl Douglas first committing, and the issue thereof.

For the second, Hollinshed and Boetius do agree, that the King did arrest the Earl Douglas, and kept him long in prison; till at last, by the mediation of the Queen and prelates, he and the Earl of Ross were released. Boetius calleth him Archibald Duke of Touraine plainly; but Hollinshed is pleased, out of some partial humour, as would seem, to suppress the title of Duke of Touraine; and this is all the difference betwixt them. It was some years after his first committing; but what year is not condescended upon. Some say it was in the year 1431, but impertinently; for the year 1430 is the year of his releasing, except that we will think, that he hath been imprisoned thrice which is not mentioned by any: and little mention there is of the cause wherefore he was warded, whereof Major complaineth, saying, that our annals tell not the cause of the Stewarts' executions, and the incarcerating of the Earl Douglas, and John Lord of Kennedy, the King's own sister's son, for both were committed, Douglas in Lochleven, and Kennedy in Stirling; for how shall it be known whether it was done justly, or for matters

of weight, or if for trifles only, and for his own pleasure. Others insinuate a cause, but do but glance at it, without setting it down so clearly as to let men know, whether it were just or unjust, which is the light and life of history, and the right end and use thereof: for they say no more, but that they had spoken sinisterly or rashly, and somewhat more freely than became them, of the estate and government of the country. What use can any man make of this generality. Rashness may be a fault, yet perhaps none at all in them of whom it is spoken, they being privy counsellors. Likewise the phrase *Freelier than became*, is so general, that the reader remaineth unsatisfied: neither can posterity, (either King or subject) judge of this fact, whether it were right or wrong, or whether the example were such as men ought to follow, or forbear and avoid.

It should have been expressly set down what they spoke, to whom, if to the King himself, or to others: in what sort, if by way of admonition, counselling, or advising, or if by form of cavilling, detracting, murmuring, mutinying, and such other circumstances, whereon the judging of it chiefly dependeth. In this uncertainty we can hardly condemn or absolve, praise or censure them, in that the Lord Kennedy was of the same mind, and category with the Earl Douglas, apparently it hath not been spoken in malice, seeing the King's nearest and his best friends, such as these Kennedies were, having approved thereof. And that noblemen must not speak their opinion freely of things to the King, or of the King, being without malice, is very hard: for how shall a King know that will not hear? He cannot know all by himself: and how shall he hear, if noblemen have not leave to speak freely: he cannot hear all by himself.

Such carriage as this hath often done princes ill, and it may be, hath done this same prince no good. And whatever it was that displeased the Earl Douglas in the government, was either for the country's sake or the King's own sake, or for both. Why might not the King think there might be errors? And why might he not then have heard them? To

have proceeded so vehemently (for there hath been great vehemency in it) to have cut off his own kinsmen, and to leave none but himself for the Earl of Athol to aim at: it was most important, and worthy to be considered of, whether or not it were best for him, in policy, to do. Doubtless his doing of it hath emboldened Athol to cut off the King himself, when all the rest were cut off first by the King. And was it nothing to lose the nobility, to alienate their hearts? to irritate them by imprisonments and forfeitures? hath it not done ill, think you, and encouraged him to go on in his intended treason, looking for the favour of the offended nobility, or for neutrality and slackness to revenge the King's death? We see the King himself retreateth his taxations once or twice, when he saw the people grieved therewith. And wisely, in that he was careful to keep the hearts of the people. But was there no care to be taken for keeping the nobility also ungrieved? Was it enough that they would not, or durst not perhaps, or could not openly rebel? Was it not something to want their affections? To want the edge and earnestness thereof, to relent and cool them? Certainly such proceedings as these have encouraged his enemies, in hope of impunity, greater than they found, yet in hope of it, to go on with their designs, and hath furthered and hastened that dolorous conclusion which ensued.

Whatever the cause were, he acknowledgeth the Earl Douglas's mind not to have been of the worst sort, in that he releaseth him, and in token of a full reconciliation, makes him a witness to the baptism of his two sons, twins, which was in those days no small honour, and signification of goodwill, and a pledge of intimate friendship. He made also his son William, though but a child of five years of age, the first knight of fifty, who were dubbed at that solemnity, as the manuscript affirmeth. By which actions, as he honoured Douglas, so did he withal honour himself in the eyes of the people, and of foreigners, gracing his court, and that so solemn action by the presence of such a peer, far more than if he had been only accompanied by Crichton and Livingston, and such

new men, who were but new and mean, in regard of him, as then but growing under the King's favour. And so it is indeed, the prince honoureth his worthy nobles by his favours to them, and they grace, adorn, and decore, and give a lustre and splendour to him and his court, by their presence and attendance thereat. And it is wisdom so to esteem, and so to use them; and happy are they on both sides, and happy is the country where they thus agree and concur. This was he, in the year 1430, in October, released out of prison; and this solemnity being ended, he passed into France, and was installed in his dutchy of Touraine: whether he went thither for that end only, or if he used that fairest colour of his absence, that he might not see the government which he disliked, and in which he had no employment, I leave it; yet his going thither gave others occasion to grow great, and to be employed, especially the house of Angus, which was at last the overthrow of his house; so as the honour and profit they had in France, may have been said to have been the wreck in Scotland, what by the envy of their greatness, what by their absence from home, as hath been said: so uncertain are the affairs of the world! Neither is there extant any mention of his actions in France, though at that time, from the year 1430, till 1437, the wars were very hot there, King Henry VI. of England being brought over in person, and crowned in Paris. It is attributed to the Earl Douglas, that he moved the King of France to require King James's daughter Margaret in marriage to his son, afterwards Lewis XI. and that he met her when she landed at Rochel, and was present at her marriage.

He remaineth there until the year 1437, in which the 21st February, King James was slain at the Blackfriars in St. Johnston, (Perth) by Patrick Graham and Robert Stewart, at the instigation of Walter Stewart Earl of Athol, the King's father's brother by the Earl of Ross's daughter, who pretended to be the rightful heir to the crown, and that he was wronged and defrauded by the son of Elizabeth Moor, who was only a concubine, as he alleged.

This posterity of Elizabeth Moor he had craftily caused to

destroy one another; the governor Robert to destroy David Duke of Rothsay, and now King James, David's brother, to destroy the house of the governor Duke Murdoch and his children. And thus causing the King to spoil and weaken himself, by cutting off his friends, none being left alive, but the King and his only son, a child of six years, he was emboldened to put his hands on the King also; so much the rather, because he knew that many of the nobility were discontented, what with being imprisoned, what with being endangered in their goods, lands, and rents, what with putting to death of their friends: so that he hoped that they would be well contented with the King's death, at least they would not take great care or pains to be revenged thereof. Which things if the Earl Douglas foresaw, and being grieved therewith, admonished the King thereof, or caused any other to warn him that these courses were not for his good: this event sheweth he did the part of a faithful subject, friend and counsellor. However, it was not so well taken by the King at that time, as being contrary to his humour and present disposition. He did wisely also to withdraw himself, seeing he could not help things, as he would have gladly done. Now that the King was dead, he returns home, and was present, as some think, at the coronation of his son James II. who was crowned at Edinburgh the 10th of March 1437, not a month, or no more than a month, after the death of his father: where it is to be observed, that either the death of the King is not rightly said to be in the year 1437, in February, instead of 1436, or else they reckon the year from the first of January, which was not the custom then. And yet Buchanan means so, for he says, he was slain in the beginning of the year 1437, in February, which makes me think the Earl Douglas hath not come in time to the coronation, seeing he could hardly have used such diligence, to have had notice of the King's death, made himself ready, and came home out of France in so short a space, though the wind had favoured him never so much. However, through his absence, his adverse party and faction had got such possession of guiding state affairs in the late

King's time, and had so handled the matter, that he was no whit regarded, nor was there any account made of him. He was not admitted to the managing of any business of the commonwealth, or any public place or office therein; Crichton and Livingston, the one made protector or governor, the other chancellor, did all according to their pleasure.

Our writers say, that the reason hereof was, because the nobility envied the greatness of Douglas, who was suspected, and too much even for Kings. How pertinently either they write so, or the parliament thought so, I refer it to be judged by the indifferent. He was far from the crown, to which he never pretended title, his predecessors had quit all pretension, title, claim, or interest thereto, in the time of King Robert II. he that did claim it, and gave over, and all his posterity after him, had ever behaved themselves modestly, they had submitted themselves to all government, even to be ruled by them who were but governors only (Robert and Murdoch) and not Kings, as obediently in every thing, as any of the meanest of the nobility, and had never given occasion of any suspicion to any man, nor taken upon them any thing beyond or above the rest, unless it were they took greater pains in defence of the liberty of the country, in which they spent their lives under their Kings. And this same man, in the late King's time, had behaved himself most humbly, going to prison once or twice, and obeying his sovereign in all things, without the least show of discontentedness, far less of opposition. So that whatever hard opinion either the King had taken of him, or any man had put into the King's head, hath been without his deserving; who if he had been that way disposed, how easily might he have troubled the governor and the whole country? But suppose they did suspect, and were jealous of his greatness, though without a cause, what moved them to neglect and pass by the rest of the ancient nobility? Was there none of them fit for those places? Where was the Earl of March, a valiant man, and of an ancient stock? Where was the Earl of Angus, the Earl of Cassils, and divers others? They will say, that Crichton and Livingston were wise men; but were they

the only wise men? Were there no more wise men in the country? Then if they were wise, were they good also? were they just? were they sober, modest, and moderate? For without these virtues, their wisdom was not good, but dangerous, and even ill; chiefly when it is joined with power, and is in authority. And I pray you, what hath their wisdom been? or wherein did they show it under the late King? they tell not; and I believe, if it be tried, it shall be found that which made him to have so short a life, that gave occasion to his enemies to take courage against him, was their seeking of their own particular advancement, with offence, and vexing of the nobility, without regarding the King's good, or the good of the country: and it must needs be so, if it were the same wisdom they show now after the King's death. Therefore if we shall speak in right terms of that matter, we shall say that Alexander Livingston and William Crichton, both small barons only, and not of the ancient blood of the nobility, new men bent to seek their own profit only, without regard to any other duty, had misgoverned the state, and got the guiding of the late King, and drawn such a faction, that Douglas being absent in France, they had got all into their hands; Livingston being made governor, and Crichton chancellor, who is the first chancellor that we read of in our chronicles.

The Earl Douglas took such indignation at this, esteeming it disgraceful to the whole nobility, and more especially to himself, that finding he could not bow his heart to acknowledge such men, and yet not willing to oppose or impugn them who were cloathed with authority, which would move war and trouble in the country, he chose, as the calmest and best course, to withdraw himself, and not to meddle with any public business, or to take any care or share in ruling the country, which he left to them to whom it was committed, and to such as had taken it upon them: with this resolution he returned home to his own house, without further troubling of them. But that he might keep them from infringing his liberties, and privileges granted to the House of Douglas of old by former Kings, for their good services, he command-

ed such as were his to contain themselves within his regality, to answer to his courts, and to no other; professing plainly that he would keep his privileges, and that if any man should usurp or encroach upon them, he should be made sensible of his error.

This was a bit cast into the teeth of the new governors, and did curb them very short on the south-side of Forth, he having large lands and lordships in those parts. And here their foolishness was quickly seen, in that they would take upon them such authority, and the unadvisedness of those who had given it them who were not able to execute it, but by the permission of another. Hereupon also fell out great inconveniences; for the men of Annandale, accustomed to theft and robbery, seeing the Earl Douglas discontented, and retired, (who was the only man they stood in awe of, and was only able to restrain them) they began to slight and contemn the authority of these governors, and to molest and vex their neighbouring shires with driving away preys and booty by open force or violence, as if it had been from the enemy. This the governors not being able to repress, the evil increased daily, as a canker, so that it overspread the whole region, almost on that side of Forth.

In the mean while these jolly governors were so careful of the common good of the country, and the charge committed to them, that instead of thinking how to pacify and restrain those Annandians, they fall at variance each with the other, sending out contrary edicts and proclamations: the governor commanding, that none should acknowledge the chancellor, and the chancellor, that none should obey the governor; so that when any came to the one to lament his estate, and seek redress, he was used by the other as an enemy; and both pretended the King's authority. For the chancellor had the King in his custody in the castle of Edinburgh, and the governor had the name of authority, and was in Stirling with the Queen-mother; at last she, under colour to visit her son, found means to convey him out of the castle in a chest to Stirling. And now the governor having got the King's person to coun-

tenance and strengthen his authority, went with an army to besiege the castle of Edinburgh, where the chancellor was.

The chancellor to make himself a party, sendeth to the Earl Douglas, offers to come in his will, desireth his protection, remonstrates to him the cruelty, avarice, and ambition of the governor, telling him that he was deceived, if he thought they would go no further than to seek to extinguish him; and that he would make him but a step to overthrow the nobility, and him with the first. Douglas returned answer, "That the governor and chancellor were both alike false, covetous, and ambitious; that their contentions were not of virtue, or for the good of their country, but only for their own particular quarrels and private commodity; in which contention there was no great matter which of them overcame; and if both should perish, the country were the better: neither could there be a more pleasant sight for all honest men, than to see such a couple of fencers yoked together." This answer was so true, that none can, or doth contradict it. Their falsehood he hath known, and that is it which men call wisdom in them by a fair name. It sheweth itself in their dealing with this Earl's son, and appears also in their carriage one towards another, each striving who should deceive the other.

Their factiousness likewise, ever when they durst for fear of a third, and that their contentions were but for particulars grounded upon ambition and avarice, without any care of the commonwealth, the world saw it then, and it may be seen as yet: and therefore it is most true, that the country had been better if it had been rid of such ambitious and avaricious governors, seeking nothing but themselves; and that it was not for any honest man to embroil himself in their so dishonest debates, but a pleasant show and spectacle indeed, and to be desired to see each of them, (though unjustly) yet to do justice upon the other. It was a free speech also, no man can deny. But they say it was not wisely spoken, for it made the two parties agree to his prejudice, and procured to him the hatred of both, at least increased their hatred; for no doubt

they hated him before, and now he might have divided them by joining with the chancellor.

To this we answer, that seeing the chancellor hated him, he would have done nothing, but served himself of him for his own particular; either to have overthrown the governor, that he might have had all the prey and benefit alone; or perhaps made use of his help to agree with him on better terms and easier conditions, as we see they did agree at last. It was for no common good of the country, no nor for any good will to the Earl: what could he do then? Why should he have meddled with them? They say, to have met with him in his own craft, and to have used the one of them to overthrow the other, that so both might have been overturned. Will men never leave these things, such false tricks, such bastard and spurious wisdom? and shall we not think there is another way besides it? There is a true honest wisdom that honest men may keep without falsehood, or any point or tincture thereof, without deceiving any, even the deceivers. What other answer did his request deserve? Was it not fit, that such crafty companions, who had abused the country, should hear the naked truth out of a nobleman's mouth? Should such a nobleman have glossed with such as they were, flattered and dissembled, and strook cream in their mouth? Nay, it is a part of punishment to wickedness, even to hear its own name given to it, and it is very fit it should have it, so that his answer cannot be justly taxed, but commended as true, just, magnanimous, and such as became his place, house, and birth, without fraud or dissimulation, calling (as the Macedonian did) a spade a spade, vice by its own name; which as he did here, so perhaps he had done before, when he spake of the government in the late King's time, whereby it would appear that such was his natural disposition far from all frivolous flattery of dissimulation, either to the King or others. Indeed now these are crept in, and accounted wisdom to the prejudice of the ancient true generosity of these great spirits; far better, and far more worthy to be adorned with the full and due praise, than to be obliquely taxed

and nipped by half words, as not being wisely and profitably enough spoken, when there can be no just blame laid upon them. Neither ought it to be thought unprofitably said, or dangerously, seeing, (out of all question) the same courage and magnanimity that moved him to speak the truth, made him also now to despise their persons, condemn their spleen, and slightly account of any power they had to do him any harm, for all their joining together. Neither is there any appearance but that he did it out of a right weighing of his own and their power, and not out of any arrogance or idle confidence. And certainly any indifferent man can think no less, and that they durst not attempt any thing against him, or his successor after him, but after a most treacherous manner as ever any was since the world stood. So that there was not any want of wisdom in this speech, nor in this same point of profit or harm.

His death followed not long after, in the year 1438 at Restalrig, of a burning fever: very opportunely and in a good time, say our writers, and so it was indeed for them, and such as they were, who had now better opportunity to prey upon the commonwealth, and spoil and use it for their best advantage. But it was unseasonably for the house of Douglas which was left in the hands of a youth without experience; and therefore uncircumspect, yea untimely for the nobility, who became a prey to the avarice and ambition of these two; and untimely for the country, in that these two were now left free from the fear of him they stood most in awe of, and who might most have repressed their attempts, and bridled their appetites.

This thing only I can account worthy of reproof in him, that he suffered the men of Annandale to over-run the adjacent countries, and did not hinder them from wronging the innocent people: he should not have thought, that it did not belong to him to hinder them, because he was no magistrate. This if he had done, and kept justice within himself, it would have gotten him both favour and honour, and might have brought contempt upon the governors that could not keep

peace in a more tractable and peacable country, nor amongst themselves; for how excellent a thing is it by good means to seek honour. It would have taken away the occasion of the calumnies of his enemies who yet did much worse themselves: he was otherwise a valiant wise man, a lover of his country, and of a free, plain, good and generous nature; his generous disposition appeareth in his brave demeanour towards the Lord Kennedy. There being something wherein the Lord Kennedy had wronged and offended him, he conceived such high indignation thereat, that he published his desire of revenge to be such, that whosoever would bring the Lord Kennedy's head, should have the lands of Stewarton: this offer proceeding from so powerful a man, and known to be a man that would keep his promise; the Lord Kennedy hearing of it, (fearing he could hardly long escape his hands) resolved, by way of prevention, to be himself the presenter of his own head unto him; and accordingly, keeping his own intention to himself, he came privately to Wigton, where finding the Earl Douglas at his devotion in St. Ninian's Church, a place famous in those days for the frequent resort of pilgrims thither, immediately after divine service offered his head to the Earl, as one who had deserved the promised reward, and did crave it. The Earl seeing the resolution and confident assurance of the man, who had put himself in his power and mercy, forgave him all his former faults, made him his friend, and withal gave him the reward he had promised, disposing to him and his heirs the lands of Stewarton, which his successors the Earls of Cassils do peaceably enjoy to this day.

He was buried in the church of Douglas, called St. Bride's Church, with this inscription:

Hic jacet Dominus Archibaldus Douglas, Dux Turoniæ, Comes de Douglas et Longueville, Dominus Gallovidiæ, et Wigton, et Annandiæ, Locum tenens Regis Scotiæ. Obiit 26. die Mensis Junii, Anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo tricesimo octavo.

Of WILLIAM slain in Edinburgh castle, the Sixth WILLIAM, the Sixth Earl of DOUGLAS, and third Duke of TOURAINE, &c.

UNTO Archibald Earl of Wigton succeeded his son William, a youth of no great age, of an high spirit, and of a sweet tractable and meek disposition: and therefore we cannot but detest and execrate the wickedness and treachery of his enemies, who did so unworthily cut off such a sprig in the very budding; from whose blossoms none could but have expected passing good fruit, to the great good of the commonwealth and kingdom, if malice and envy had suffered it to come to maturity. Let us notwithstanding rest contented with his change, begun in his father by warding; and displacing from the room of his predecessors from managing of affairs in the kingdom, prosecuted against him in his lifetime, and now followed forth against his son. This vicissitude which befel this house is to be found and seen in all human affairs, and doth overturn all due and right order in the world, as far as men can judge: for innocency is often overthrown by cruelty; honesty and uprightness of heart by craft, falsehood, and treachery; and yet let us reverence the sovereign cause and over-ruler of all things who in this disorder directeth all things certainly by a great wisdom, and with good order doubtless, though unsearchable by man. But as nothing hath ever been so enormous, which may not receive some colour, either of virtue to make it seem good, or at least of some extenuation to make it seem not so ill at it is; so this fact amongst others I perceive to be of the same kind: by some thought to be good, but very ignorantly or maliciously; by some excusable, both in form and in fact, by a necessity, or pretext of the common good; by all that have written, more slenderly handled, and doubtfully, than ought to be. For they leave it almost uncertain what ought to be judged of it, whether it be good or ill: so that sometimes you would think they condemn it, sometimes

they allow of it, and none of them deals with it so fully, as reason would they should do for the information of posterity and according to the right law of an history; but as men do with nettles which they would grip, they are afraid to handle them heartily and hardly.

Now that this so base a fact may the better appear in its own colours, I will labour to wash away the painting and plaister wherewith the authors would so fain, but falsely, overlay it; or wherewith men's judgements, whereof many are but half wise, and perceive but the half of matters, not plumbing and sounding the depth and grounds of thing so well as were needful, may be deceived by others, or may fancy to themselves for excusing of it, that we may learn to detest and abhor so detestible and horrible facts with a true detestation and abhorring in earnest and effect, that posterity may know and condemn, and avoid the like practices.

And for this purpose, before we come to the narration of the fact itself, we will speak something of the authors thereof, Livingston and Crichton, and their actions in the last Earl Douglas's time.

We heard before, and we must not forget it, how well these men guided the country, what care they took of the commonwealth; or to say better, how little care they took of it; how they cared for nothing save their own particular good, under colour of the commonwealth; each striving to disgrace the other by their private speeches and open proclamations: so greedy and ambitious they were, that howbeit they had all the country between them, yet it could not satisfy or content them; they could not so much as agree between themselves, to divide the spoil and part the booty peaceably and quietly, which thieves, robbers and pirates are wont to do without discord or injustice. But they had not so much modesty, but fell at variance; spoiling, fighting and besieging one another, till remembering themselves that a third might come and take the bone from both, they were so wise as to agree for fear of him, I mean the Earl Douglas. And that they did so, more in that regard, than for any good to their country, or love they bore

one to another, it soon appeared after his death: for incontinent thereupon, they returned to their old bias, and the agreement that was made for fear of him lasted no longer than he lived. Wherefore Livingston being governor, and having the King also in his custody, being freed from the fear of the Earl Douglas, respected the chancellor Crichton no longer, but began to despise him; and thinking now there was no band to bind him any longer to him, he would give him no share of his booty and spoil of the country, but would needs keep all to himself. This was his ambition or avarice; or both; for ambition would be alone in all, and likes no equal, no fellowship, no copartner. And avarice might also have moved him to this; for guiding all, he might take all: and if he made the other partaker of the guiding, he behoved to make him partaker of the gain; and therefore he would have none of his assistance in the government. But let us see now how well he governed; he imprisoneth the nobles at his pleasure, upon light grounds of suspicion only, yea he casteth them into fetters.

The 3d of August 1439, he warded the Lord Lorne and his brother Sir James Stewart, who had married the Queen-mother, upon suspicion only for their dealing with the Earl Douglas, and did commit the Queen herself to be kept in a close chamber in Stirling castle, of which he himself was captain; so that she could not get herself released, until there was kept a convention of the Lords, then by the intercession of the chancellor and some other, she was dismissed, having given Sir Alexander Gordon, alias Seton, who was the first Earl of Huntly, surety and cautioner for her, that she should pay 4000 merks to the governor. This was his iniquity, yea tyranny, and barbarous abusing of noblemen, and yet he gave remissions, and pardoned men guilty of great crimes, or passed them over by conniving.

The chancellor, therefore, who thought he should have his share of the booty, seeing himself thus dis-placed by the governor, and not being able to help it, nor to have patience, and sit quiet, it being more than he could digest or bear with,

retired him from court to Edinburgh castle, there to be safe in his fort, and lie in wait for the first opportunity that he could find to supplant Livingston. Neither was he long in over-reaching him; for before the year was ended, he took occasion of the governor's going to Perth, and knowing by intelligence the time and place of the King's hunting in the fields about Stirling, thither he rides, and bringeth him away to Edinburgh castle. By this means the dice are changed; he had now got the durk, as our proverb goes, he will divide the prey over again; he will have his large share of all, and direct all now, as Livingston had done before. The other finding himself in this strait, might lament his case, but could not help himself: necessity hath no law. The chancellor had yielded to him before, when he, or the Queen for him, stole away the King. Now he hath got a meeting; he must yield to him again, and so he doth: bows his bony heart, goes to Edinburgh, gets mediators, brings on a meeting, and finally agrees, by the mediation of Henry Leighton bishop of Aberdeen, and John Innes bishop of Murray.

But if you would see the right face of a stage play, deceivers, deceiving, dissembling, and putting a fair outside on their foul falsehood and proceeding; read me their harangues on both sides, that you may either laugh, or disdain them. I cannot take leisure to set them down at length, as they are to be found in our histories; but in a word, you shall find nothing but pretexts of the commonwealth, of the public peace, the good of the King, and the well-being of all honest men, which is all joined, and depends upon them and their well-being forsooth. That hath been still their scope, that hath been the aim of all their intentions, no particular, no ambition, no avarice; only love of those things which were common and profitable unto all: and because in them all did lie and subsist; in their standing honest men did stand, and by their ruin honest men did fall; nay, the King and country were ruined. For this cause, and for no other, that the country might be well, that wickedness may be bridled, they forgive one another, avouching that their discords arose only from di-

versity of opinion, and judgement; while though both were pursuing the common good, the one thought one form the properest for obtaining it, and the other another form: which if it were true, let what hath been said above bear witness. It would make a man to loath speaking virtuously, to see virtue by them so far abused; yet the old proverb might have warned them, *Oportet mendacem esse memorem*: and sometimes that a liar will speak the truth, is verified in them. They confess their ambition, and striving for honour and pre-eminence, they are ashamed to say for goods and riches; but it was no less true, and both were alike faulty, and they exhort one another, and promise to amend thereafter by a better strife, who should be most moderate and just. But they were as true in keeping that promise as they were in their discourse what was past. *When the fox preacheth take heed of the hens*, saith the proverb: we shall see notable moderation and justice, such as the world had scarce seen the like example of treacherous tyranny.

This is the sum of these jolly men's harangues. The conclusion is a new friendship, if falsehood be friendship; or rather a conspiracy against the country, and directly against the noblemen, who (their conscience telleth them) hate them as new men, lifted up to the highest degree, as they grant themselves; and that was reproach enough to the nobility, and an argument of their unworthiness. But they might have said as truly, that they were hated for abusing the King and country, for their private advantage, under pretext of the commonwealth, which whether the whole nobility resented or not, we cannot tell; for there is no mention, and it is a wonder if they did not, yet it would seem they did not: they had stooped and taken on an unworthy yoke of slavery. But whatever the rest did, there was one that was a sore thorn in their foot, and mote in their eye, it behoved to be plucked out.

The Earl of Douglas was of the old spirit of the ancient nobility; he could not serve nor obey but whom he ought, and the lawful commanders, lawfully commanding for his

honour and utility, whereof they were neither. Such a spirit is unsufferable, under these new conspiring tyrants: he will not acknowledge their authority: his father had told them their holy-day's name, himself took them for his enemies. But how shall they do with him? He is not easy to be dealt with; they must have muffles that would catch such a cat. Indeed he behaved himself as one that thought he would not be in danger of them; he entertained a great family; he rode ever well accompanied when he came in public; 1000 or 2000 horse were his ordinary train. He had great friendship and dependence of old; he had been careful to keep them, and had also increased them, and conciliated many new followers and clients by his beneficence and liberality, and his magnificence, which was answerable to his place, suitable for an Earl of Douglas and Duke of Touraine; which dutchy he had obtained himself to be invested in as heir to his father; having sent Malcolm Lord Fleming, and Sir John Lawder of Bass (or Hatton, as others say) into France, for that purpose; and was well accepted of in remembrance of his father and grandfather: he had all his affairs in singular good order: he had his ordinary council and counsellors for guiding his affairs. He dubbed knights also, as he thought men worthy; which power and privilege he did not usurp out of pride, nor take upon him by imitation to counterfeit Kings, as some would insinuate, but by virtue of both his dignities of Duke and Earl: and although he was but fourteen years of age at his father's death, in the year 1438 or 39, and was put to death in the year 1440, not having attained to fifteen or sixteen, or little above at the farthest; yet in this his port and behaviour did not only appear the sparks of a great spirit, but also of such wisdom and prudence, as could scarce be looked for from so young a man. This galled them so much the more to think, if that fruit should come to ripeness at any time, how poisonous, or rather how great a counter-poison it would prove to their greatness. But here the skin of the lion would not serve their turn; he was too hard for them to deal with by force, they do therefore put on that of the fox.

The occasion fell out thus, during the time of the jars betwixt themselves, the common affairs were neglected between stools, and partly because they could not, being but mean men of small power, partly because they cared not to prevent or amend things, many insolencies were committed without redress. The men of the isles had come into the main land, had put all to fire and sword, men, women, and children, young and old, far and wide, omitting no kind of example of avarice and cruelty; and that not only on the sea-coast, but in the Lennox also, out of the isle of Lochlomond, called Inch-martin, they had made an appointment with a gentleman named John Colquhoun, laird of Luss, as if it had been to end some business, and slew him, the 23d of September, with many such things, and many foul facts had been done in divers parts of the country. Likewise Sir Allan Stewart of Darnley was slain at Paisley, by Sir Thomas Boyd; and again, Sir Thomas Boyd was slain by Alexander Stewart of Belmont, brother to the aforesaid Sir Allan, and his sons, through which there arose great troubles in the west parts of the country and kingdom. The borderers had not been idle, who living under the Earl Douglas, and being his followers or retainers, what they did was interpreted to be done by his allowance. And at a convention in Edinburgh, many complaints were given in against him, but never a word spoken of the fact of the islanders, never a word of Livingston and Crichton's own doings, who had warred one upon another, not a word of any slaughter or bloodshed, but as though nothing were amiss in the country, but what was done by the Earl Douglas's dependers; they only were complained of. Whether the cause was in his enemies, and that this proceeded from them, or was done by their instigation, our histories tell not, neither can we affirm it: yet it is strange, that there being so many more, and more enormous faults, (for the islemen's were more heinous) none should be taken notice of but his men's. Theirs are exaggerated, multiplied, and made odious; and the envy thereof derived upon the Earl as author of all: hereupon Sir Alexander Livingston, carrying malice in

his heart, but dissembling it for a time, with a false deceitful mind, persuaded the rest, that the Earl Douglas was rather a man to be dealt with by fair means, than to be irritated by suspicions, as one who had such power, that if he should oppose himself, he might frustrate all their conclusions and decrees. Wherefore he procured a letter to be written to him in an honourable manner in all their names, entreating him, that being mindful of his place; mindful of his progenitors, whose good deeds and deservings, most ample and notable towards his country of Scotland, were still extant, he would come to the convention of the states, which could not be conveniently kept without him and his friends. If he had taken offence at any thing, they would satisfy him so far as was possible; if there were any oversight committed by him, or any of his friends, they would remit it, and would forgive many things to his most noble house which had done so many good offices, and so much good service to his country; they would impute many things to the times, and consider his youth and the great hope and expectation they had of him; that he should come therefore, and take what part of the affairs of the commonwealth he best pleased; and as his ancestors had often delivered the realm from dangers of wars by their arms and victories; so that he would be pleased now by his presence to raise it, and establish it, almost sunk and overthrown with intestine discords.

This letter, as it was honest in words, and very right, carrying that right course that should have been used towards him, and the duty, that all these reasons contained, craved to have been done to him, if it had been in sincerity: so being in falsehood, and with a treacherous intention, used only to intrap him, makes their dittay the clearer; for he out of the honesty of his own heart, interpreting their meaning to be according to their words, and being of no ill disposition, but of a sweet and tractable nature, desirous of glory by good means, that so he might have followed the footsteps of his predecessors in all good offices to his country, not having so great malice in his mind, and therefore, not thinking any

could have so great in theirs against him, as to seek his life; for there had been no such occasion, their contentions with his father had not come to that height and degree, but had been contained within the bounds of words only, and therefore not imagining that so great villany could have been harboured in their hearts, he willingly embraces the occasion of making peace in the country, and that he might contribute thereto his best endeavours, taketh his journey for Edinburgh, his friends are reported to have furthered him in this resolution, in hope of their own particular employments and preferments, which, say they, blinded their eyes that they saw not the danger, but truly I cannot see how they could have seen any peril, unless we will say that they might have known that the governor and chancellor were treacherous men, and had given some proof of as great disloyalty before, which is not mentioned any where that we know of; for though they were known to be subject and inclinable to falsehood, as his father had objected to them before, yet it was so well covered, that it was not accounted falshood, but wisdom: for there are degrees; and there be many who will dispense with themselves to step something aside from the strict rule of uprightness, which is accounted simplicity, that will be ashamed of so high a degree of manifest treason as this was: so that howbeit they knew their falsehood in some measure, yet could they not have looked for such treacherous dealing; besides it might have seemed to any man in discourse of reason, that if they cared not to blot their names with the foulness of the fact, yet they could not have great hope to gain or profit much by it: for what could it avail them to cut him off, seeing another was to succeed in his place, as ill perhaps as he? So that by putting of him to death, all that they could gain, would be but an irreconcilable deadly feud with that house, which was too high a degree of enmity for any thing that had yet been amongst them, being nothing but grudges, and such things as might have been easily taken away. So that, since the discourse of man, for ought we can judge, could never have reached so

far as to have suspected what followed, but rather to have looked for the contrary, I see not how the Earl nor his friends can be blamed for credulity; or how can it be censured in him as a defect of his youth, and proceeding from want of experience: for what otherwise could he have done, if his experience had been ever so great, or himself never so old? Neither is there sufficient ground to tax his friends, as if their hopes had blinded them so that they could not see any peril, which no discourse of reason could see or apprehend. It is true, men ought to be circumspect; but it is a fault also, and proceeds of an ill nature to be suspicious, as he might well have seemed to be, if he had refused to come. The event shows there was cause to suspect the worst: but I deny that reason could foresee that event, or any, considering of the circumstances, could have made one to have looked for it: neither can any man save himself from such treason; neither can it be reputed as simplicity to the sufferer, but as a monstrous enormity to the doer.

To return to our purpose, their disloyal practice staid not in this smooth letter; they double fraud upon fraud: for so soon as Crichton knew he was on his journey, he came many miles to meet him, and inviting him to his castle of Crichton, (which was near the way he was to go) he feasteth him, he cherisheth him, he entertaineth him friendly, cheerfully, and magnificently; and that not for one day, but for two days kindly, with all the tokens and demonstrations of a friendly mind that could be given. And to remove all suspicion of unfriendliness and the more to circumvent him, he admonished him familiarly, "That he would remember the royal dignity of his prince, and his own duty towards him; that he would acknowledge him for his lord and sovereign whom the condition of his birth, the laws of the country, and the consent of the states had placed at the helm of the commonwealth; that he would labour to transmit his so great patrimony acquired by the virtue of his ancestors, and with spending of their blood to his posterity, even so as he as he had received it; that he would be careful to keep the

“ name of Douglas, which was no less illustrious and renowned for their faithfulness, than their deeds of arms, not only from the foul blot of treason, but even from all stain of suspicion or aspersion thereof; that he himself would abstain, and cause his men to abstain from wronging the poor people; that he would put from about him thieves and robbers. Finally, that in time to come he would set himself to maintain justice; that if he had offended any thing in times past, it might be imputed not to his natural disposition, but to ill counsel, and that infirmity of his youth, penitency would be admitted and accepted as innocency.”

Venomous viper, that could hide so deadly poison under so fair shews! Unworthy tongue, unless to be cut out for example to all ages! Let not the poets be thought fabulous, who have transformed men into beasts, lo a beast composed of many beasts, a lion, a tyger, for cruelty of heart; a wasp, a spider, a viper, for spite and malicious poisonableness; a fox and camelion, for falsehood and doubleness; a cockatrice and crocodile, and whatsoever nature hath brought forth, that is deceitful and hurtful; a sweet singing syren, enchanting the outward senses, to the destruction of the listener, so much the more odious, that it was in the shape of a man; and the more detestable, that it durst so pollute the image of God, so abuse the glory of man; the speech of the tongue therefore given him beyond the beast, that he might employ it well, to inform aright, to speak truth, and to do good to others. The honest heart of the hearer, that knew what he spake was right, and intended to follow so good counsel, taketh all in good part, believeth the speech for the truth's sake, and the man for the speech's sake. And who could have done otherwise? Who would not have thought that he who knew so well what was right, would have had some regard to do right? Shall we account it childishness, that he accounted so of them, and suffered him to be so deceived? Nay, he could not keep himself undeceived. Good men, and wise men have often been deceived both in sacred and profane histories. We must not impute it to childishness in Abner, that Joab stabbed

him under trust, but esteem it vile treachery in Joab, of whom David says, "He dieth not as a fool dieth, howbeit his hands were not bound, but as a good man falleth before a wicked man," that is, by treason, which no man can eschew.

It is said that his friends seeing so extraordinary entertainment, so fair language above measure, so humble behaviour, and withal so many messages, at every step almost betwixt the governor and chancellor, took some suspicion of ill meaning; and that there arose first a still murmur through the whole company; thereafter some began to admonish him, that if he would persist to go on, he would send back his brother David, being mindful of a precept of his father's, "that they should not come both together into one place, where themselves were not masters, lest they should endanger their whole family at once." The unwary youth, unwary indeed; but what wariness could he have, poor innocent? and very well inclined, even angry with his friends, staid those murmurs by a plain commandment, and assured his friends thus, that he knew well, it was a perpetual pest of great houses, that they had ever about them some men that were impatient of peace, who made gain of the perils, travels and miseries of their Lords and patriarchs; and because, in peace they were restrained by the bridle of the law, they were ever stirring up strife and sedition, that in troubled times they might have greater scope and liberty to their wickedness. As for himself, he reposed more upon the known wisdom, and prudence of the governor and chancellor, than to give ear to their suspicious surmises.

This speech thus uttered, testifying both an acknowledging of the evil past, and a resolution to amend, was it not sufficient to have purged whatsoever error had been, or might have been thought to have escaped him before? And certainly it would, if these men had regarded justice or the good of the commonwealth, and had desired to reclaim him from his errors, and win him to his country. But his so full confidence thus reposing on their credit, was it not enough to have tied them to keep their credit, if there had been any spark

of humanity or nature of man left in them, and if they had not been worse than savage beasts? Trust deserveth that we should prove worthy of that trust, and credit procures keeping of credit, where all human nature is not extinct, and even simplicity deserveth favour and pity. Neither can a man that is not altogether given over, and hath not sold himself to wickedness, chuse but favour it, and have compassion of it, yea though he had been otherwise disposed in the beginning; it would even move any man's heart, that were indeed a man, and not changed into a beast, to favour and commiserate, and would have tamed and calmed any former discontentment, and have wrung from them any evil intention which they might perhaps have conceived before. However, this noble youth goeth on in the innocency of his heart, and that the more quickly, to cut off all occasion of such speeches, and with his brother, and with a few other principal friends, goeth directly to the castle, being led as it were and drawn by a fatal destiny, and both enter, and so come in the power of those their deadly enemies and feigned friends. At the very instant comes the governor, as was before appointed betwixt them, to play his part of the tragedy, that both might be alike embarked in the action, and bear the envy of so ugly a fact, that the weight thereof might not lie on one alone; yet to play out their treacherous parts, they welcome him most courteously, set him to dinner with the King at the same table, feast him royally, entertain him chearfully, and that for a long time. At last about the end of dinner, they compass him about with armed men, and cause present a bull's head before him on the board: the bull's head was in those days a token of death, say our histories, but how it hath come in use so to be taken, and signify, neither do they, nor any else tell us; neither is it to be found that I remember, any where in history, save in this one place; neither can we conjecture what affinity it can have therewith, unless to exprobrate grossness, according to the French, and our own reproaching dull and gross wits, by calling him calves-head (*tete de Veau*) but not bull's head. So that by this they did insult over that

innocence which they had snared, and applaud their own wisdom that had so circumvented him: a brave commendation indeed and an honest! yet I wonder what they meant by entertaining him so well at that time; there was some reason for it why they should have done it by the way, that they might work out their treason, until he were within their fangs; but being now within the castle, and fully in their power, I wonder what it should mean to make him so fair a welcome, to feast him so liberally and solemnly at the King's table, and from thence to bring him to the shambles: what could have been their intention? Might they not have conveyed him to some private chamber: might they not have carried him to the place of execution? What needed all this process? What needed they to have let him see the King at all? It would seem as if they had not been fully resolved upon the business before, and that their intentions and purposes were not treasonable, but that they took occasion to be treasonable from the facility to achieve it: but our writers are clear against that, and say only it was pre-concluded when he was written for. It might seem also that they did this to communicate the matter, or to transfer it altogether upon the King: but he was too young, and purges himself by disproving of it. So that I can see no other reason of it, but as the lion with his prey, or, to use a more base, yet a more familiar example, and the baser the fitter for them, as the cat with the mouse, which she might devour immediately, yet it pleaseth her to play a little with it; so they, for their greater satisfaction and contentment, delight to play out their scene, so strangely notwithstanding, that such process and uncouth forms of doing might seem to import some mystery and deeper reach than ordinary, which I confess is so profound and deep a folly and enchantment, that I can nowise sound it, unless it were, that the nobleman's place and worth forced their wicked hearts to acknowledge it, notwithstanding their wickedness: and although the acknowledging could not prevail so far, as to make them leave off the enterprise, yet did it in some sort brangle their resolution, and wrung out this confession of his worth; as all the

actions of wickedness, and all wickedness in the acting, are full of contradictions; so this same is most clearly: for if this nobleman was guilty of death, why is he brought into the King's presence? Why is he set at his table? If he was not guilty, why was he put to death? So difficult a thing it is in a lie to keep conformity, either in a lie of actions, so to speak, or in a lie of words. In words it is difficult so to speak, that the attentive hearer shall not perceive contrariety; in actions it is impossible that they can be dissembled. This action is a lie, for it saith that he is guilty of death; but their welcoming of him, their setting of him at the table with the King, and their feasting, says he is an innocent, noble, worthy man. Indeed only truth in word and action can accord with itself: as it is uniform, it floweth from unity, tendeth to it, and endeth in it, and keepeth the taste of the fountain from which it cometh. So they having given this confession of his worth, and again, by that ominous sign, contradicted their confession, must needs be false witnesses, however it go. The young nobleman, either understanding the sign as an ordinary thing, or astonished with it as an uncouth thing, upon the sight of the bull's head, offering to rise, was laid hold of by their armed men, in the King's presence, at the King's table, which should have been a sanctuary to him. And so without regard of King, or any duty, and without any further process, without order, assize or jury, without law, no crime objected, he not being convicted at all, a young man of that age, that was not liable to the law in regard of his youth, a nobleman of that place, a worthy young gentleman of such expectation, a guest of that acceptance, one who had reposed upon their credit, who had committed himself to them, a friend in mind, who looked for friendship, to whom all friendship was promised, against duty, law, friendship, faith, honesty, humanity, hospitality; against nature, against human society, against God's law, against man's law, and the law of nature, is cruelly executed and put to death: they, in despite as it were, spitting in the face of all duty and honesty, proclaiming as far as in them there was no duty to God nor man to be regard-

ed. And that the measure of their wickedness, thus heaped and shaken, and prest down, might also run over, all this was done, as it should seem, without the consent, nay, against the will of their King and sovereign, who wept at their execution, and forbade them to meddle with his cousin: the shameless men chid him for weeping at the death of his enemy, as they call him, during whose life, say they, he needed never to look for peace, whereas they themselves were his chiefest enemies and greatest traitors to him, and besides him to God and nature, and to the office of justice which they bore, bringing a blot on the one and the other, and blood-guiltiness upon his crown, so far as lay in them.

This is that detestable fact never enough to be condemned, which I have laboured indeed to set forth in its own simple colours, stripping it naked of all farding, though I confess no words can equal the wickedness of it, that men may learn to detest such things wherein may be seen what respect they have carried either to justice, to equity, to common-peace, commonwealth, that thought it better to root out such a plant, than to dress and to cherish it; to ruin such a house rather than to gain it, which they never would have done, if their private pride and avarice had not had the greatest sway with them. I think all honest minds should disdain to read what they gave out before, of their love to the public good, having here so terribly belied it: neither should any man speak of it indifferently without a note of detestation; neither extenuate it by the Earl's simplicity, which seems to diminish and lessen this execrable perfidy and cruelty. If this were the wisdom, whereof they had purchased an opinion and name under the former King James I. and if they had practised such things as this, it hath been a bitter root, and hath brought forth a very bitter fruit, and hath, in all appearance, been no small part of the cause of hastening his death, and the emboldening of his enemies unto it, as indeed I find some of our writers inclined to say; for such new men go commonly about to persuade princes, that ancient noblemen are enemies to them, and bar their absoluteness, which is it that these

men here mean, in saying that the Earl Douglas was an enemy to the King. Not that he bare any ill will to the King's person, (for that they could nowise make appear) but because he was so great a man: according to that general rule, that greatness in the nobility is dangerous for the prince, and as if to be a great man were by infallible consequence to be an enemy to the King. Which maxim I fear they have beaten into his head afterwards; not so much to strengthen and provide for his security, as to draw him to their party for strengthening of themselves: for we see all their intentions aim but at their own particulars, and so in this they intend nothing else; only they colour their particulars with the pretext of the King's service, as they do this wicked fact also.

David Douglas the younger brother was also put to death with him, and Malcolm Fleming of Cumbernald his special counsellor. They were all three beheaded in the back court of the castle that lieth to the west. This augments yet their wickedness, that they execute his brother also, whose age behoved to be less than his own, who was but very young too, as we have said. These were good tutors and bringers up of a young prince, thus as it were to bait him with the blood of his nobility, and to imprint such a lesson in his tender mind that they were his enemies. But for conclusion of this matter, concerning these young men, as there was no law laid against them, so is there no history that beareth witness that they were guilty of any capital crime. And Major saith expressly, *Apud annales legi, quod viri illi non erant rei mortis, sed quod consilio vel dolo Gulielmi Creichtoni Scotiæ Cancellarii hæc perpetrata sunt*: That is, I read in our annals that these men were not guilty of death, but this matter was achieved by the counsel and fraud of Crichton the chancellor. It is sure, the people did abhor it, execrating the place where it was done, in detestation of the fact, of which the memory remaineth yet to our days in these words.

Edinburgh Castle, Town and Tower,
 God grant thou sink for sin;
 And that even for the black Dinner
 Earl Douglas got therein.

Now, since these youths were not guilty, whereof were they not guilty that put them to death? And with what note of infamy to be branded? Though some seem to blame this innocent young man, as they cannot deny him to have been, with half words, as guided by flattery, given to insolence, presumptuous in his port, yet is there no effect, or affection brought importing either his being addicted to flattery, or that he was more insolent, presumptuous or arrogant than became a man of his rank: but on the contrary, that he was of a gentle nature, a repulser of flattery now as he grew in age, and of due magnificence, such as well became him. Let us therefore account of him so, as one that was singular in respect of his years; and let the blame lie fully on his enemies, who shall find some meeting hereafter from his counsins, that they may find all the house perished not with him, though indeed the punishment was not proportioned to that which they deserved.

In Gulielmum et Davidem fratres in Arce Edinburgena trucidatos.

Vestra Sophocleo cædes est digna cothurno.

Vestra Thyestea cæna cruenta magis.

Vos scelere atque dolis, vos proditione necati,

Insontes, puerique et patriæ proceres.

Regius et vestro est fœdatus funere vultus:

Qui fertur siccas non tenuisse genas.

Hæccine, Rectores, vestra est prudentia tanta?

Hæccine laudatur justitia? hæcne fides?

Exemplum æternis nunquam delebile fastis

Perstat fraudis atræ, perfidiæque truci.

In English thus,

Your murder may deserve a tragic muse,

Your horrid dinner justly might excuse

Thyestes' feast, by a more treacherous train

Drawn to the ax, more barbarously slain

Than was his son: your prince's guiltless eye-

Stained with the sight, wept at the cruelty,
 Is this these rulers' wisdom? this their love
 To justice? this the prudence men approve.
 So much? O black example! fit to be
 Mark'd in eternal scrolls of infamy.

Of JAMES, called Gross JAMES, the Third JAMES, Sixteenth Lord, and Seventh Earl of DOUGLAS, Lord of Bothwell, Abercorn and Annandale, the Fourth Duke of TOURAINE, and Lord of Longueville.

UNTO William succeeded his father's brother James Lord of Abercorn, in all the lands that were entailed; but Beatrix, sister to the said William, fell heir to the rest that were not entailed, which were many, say our writers, particularly Galloway, Wigton, Balveny, Ormond, Annandale. This James was called gross James, because he was a corpulent man of body. He had to wife Beatrix Sinclair, daughter to the Earl of Orkney, but which Earl is not expressed. To find it, we must consider, that from 1. William Sinclair, the first that came out of France and married Agnes Dunbar, daughter to Patrick first Earl of March, 2. The next was Henry his son, who was married to Katharine daughter to the Earl of Strathern; 3. Hisson called Henry, also married Margaret Gartnay, daughter to the Earl of Mar; 4. This Henry's son, Sir William who passed into Spain, with good Sir James Douglas, who carried the Bruce's heart to Jerusalem: he was married to Elizabeth Speir daughter to the Earl of Orkney and Zetland, and so by her became the first Earl of Orkney of the Sinclairs. The second Earl was, 5. William also, who married Florentina daughter to the King of Denmark, the sixth person, and third Earl, was his Son Henry, who married Giles, or Egidia, daughter to the Lord of Nithisdale. The seventh person and fourth Earl is Sir William, who married Eliza-

beth Douglas daughter to Archibald Tineman, the first Duke of Touraine, and sister to this James the *gross*. Now this James's wife cannot have been this last William's daughter, for then she should have been his own sister's daughter. And therefore she hath been either Henry's that married Giles Douglas, or else Sir William's who married Florentina, which of the two I leave it to conjecture: her great spirit and high ambition would seem to argue that she was come of Kings, and near to them; but the monument in Douglas calleth her daughter to Henry.

She bare to this Earl James seven sons and four daughters. The name of the eldest was William, and the second James, who were Earls of Douglas, both of them by succession, as we shall hear; the third was Archibald, who married the daughter of John Dunbar Earl of Murray, brother to George Earl of March, by which means he got the Earldom of Murray, the fourth named Hugh, was made Earl of Ormond, and had sundry lands given him by the King in Tiviotdale and Ross the fifth, John, was made Lord of Balveny; the sixth Henry was Bishop of Dunkeld; George the seventh, died before he was fifteen years of age, as our chronicles do witness; but there is no mention of him in the monuments at Douglas, where the rest are set down by name. As for his four daughters, 1. Margaret the eldest, was married to the Lord Dalkeith; 2. Beatrix the second, to John Stewart Duke of Albany constable of Scotland, and captain of fifty men at arms in France; the third was named Janet, and was married to the Lord Fleming of Cumbernauld; Elizabeth who was the fourth, died unmarried. This Gross James's eldest son William, partly to hold up the greatness of his house, partly by the lady's own desire, who directly refused to marry any other of the name of Douglas, married Beatrix Douglas his cousin, she was called the fair maiden of Galloway: and so by this match the estate of Douglas was preserved entire, and those lands which she would have been heir to, and divided from it, were kept in their own hands. This match was made far against the opinion of the rest of the name of Douglas, who thought

it better, that she should have been married to some of the house of Angus or Dalkeith, alleging that the house of Douglas was too great already, and that their greatness would be the ruin of the house; which maxim, although it proveth often true, that too great dominions under princes, as also princes themselves having so large extent of territories, and other republics and commonwealths, when they come to that hugeness that they cannot easily be governed, do fall and are overthrown by their own weight: and the conspiracies and combinations of neighbouring princes or states, who fear and are jealous of their excessive greatness, or by their subjects within, either through the prince's jealousy, who suspects them, or others' envy, who stir up jealousy in the prince, and draw him to suspect them: and therefore all, both Lordships and Empires, are to be restrained and kept within a mediocrity, and that as well princes and commonwealths as subjects, which all men will confess: but what this mediocrity is they declare not; neither will they confess, or do they ever think that they are come to that fulness, that there is any danger of exceeding so far, as to procure their overthrow, or breed any peril. It is said of Augustus Cæsar that he intended some limitation of the empire, and had resolved to have propagated it no further; yet it was doubted, upon what ground it was, that he thus resolved, whether out of prudence, or of envy towards his successors, that none might go beyond him, or add any more to it than he had. And it is indeed a hard matter to persuade men, and perhaps no less difficult to prove; for all agree that such earthly things, even all of them are in a perpetual flux and motion, and that they cannot stand long at a stay, without going either forward or backward, increasing or decreasing. If therefore they go not forward, they must go back, if they do not increase, they must decrease, which if it be true, it were better to seek to increase so long as men may, than to take them to a standing, from which they must decrease, if they do not increase.

But whether on this reasonable account, his friends of the name of Douglas would thus have persuaded him not to become too great for fear of falling, or for any particular

view of their own, or whether he, for this other reason, or rather for the common disposition of men to press ever forward, I know not; but he chose to be great, and take his hazard; and because the two parties were within the degrees prohibited by the Roman church (brothers' children) he sent to Rome for a dispensation; which being long in coming, and he fearing lest the King and the rest of the name of Douglas would cast all the impediments they could in the way to hinder the match, which was also reported, and not without ground, caused hasten the marriage before the dispensation came, and that in Lent too, a time forbidden also; and which is more, on the Friday before Pasch, called commonly Good-Friday. This was thought ominous, and the unhappy event confirmed this opinion. They were married in the church of Douglas. Some write, that this marriage was procured and made by the young man himself, after the decease of his father: however, this was a special cause of dissention and division amongst those of the name of Douglas.

For the actions of this Gross James, we have no particulars recorded in histories, either in his brother's time, or his nephew's time, or now when he cometh to be Earl himself. There is no mention at all made of him; whether he did any thing for to revenge the murder of his nephews by Crichton and Livingston; belike as he hath been corpulent, so hath his corpulency caused a dulness of spirit, as commonly it doth. Some write that he was warden of all the marches, and his monument at Douglas agreeth with them, and says that he was a great justiciary. Others write that he was no ill man; that he entertained no disordered wicked men, but yet he did not repress them sharply enough; and therefore was suspected by the King, and disliked by many. He died in Abercorn, within two years, or not three, says the manuscript, after the marriage of his son, which hath not been long in making. We may guess it most probably to have been not fully three years, and so that he died in the year 1443. He was buried in Douglas, where, on his tomb, he is called *magnus Princeps*, and, amongst other titles, Lord of Liddisdale and Jedburgh-

Forest. His wife is stiled, *Dominā Avenia*, Lady of Avendale: his epitaph there is yet to be seen thus,

Hic Jacet magnus et potens Princeps, Dominus Jacobus de Douglas, Comes de Douglas, Dominus Annandia et Gallovidiæ, Liddaliæ, et Jedburgh-Forestiæ, et Dominus de Balvenia, magnus Wardanus Regni Scotiæ versus Angliam, &c. Qui obiit vicesimo quarto die mensis Martii, Anno Domini millesimo, quadringentesimo quadragesimo tertio.

His Wife's is thus,

Hic jacet Domina Beatrix de Sinclair, filia Domini Henrici Comitis Orcadum, Domini de Sinclair, Comitissa de Douglas, et Avenia Domina Gallovidiæ.

His Childrens' are thus,

Hæ sunt proles inter prædictos Dominum, et Dominam generatæ, 1. Dominus Gulielmus primo genitus, et heres prædicti Domini Jacobi, qui successit ad totam hereditatem prædictam; 2. Jacobus secundo genitus, Magister de Douglas; 3. Archibaldus tertio genitus, Comes Murray; 4. Hugo quarto genitus, Comes Ormondia; 5. Johannes quinto genitus, Dominus Balvenia; 6. Henricus sexto genitus. Margareta uxor Domini de Dalkeith; Beatrix uxor Domini de Aubignia; Joneta uxor Domini de Biggar et Cumbernald; Elizabetha de Douglas, quarta filia erat,

In English thus,

Here lies a great and powerful prince, Lord James Douglas, Earl of Douglas, Lord of Annandale and Galloway, Liddisdale and Jedburgh-forest, and Lord of Balveny, great warden of the kingdom of Scotland towards England, &c. He died the 24th day of March, in the year 1443.

His Wife's is thus,

Here lies the Lady Beatrix Sinclair, daughter of Henry Lord of the Isles, Lord Sinclair, Countess of Douglas and Avendale, Lady Galloway.

Their Children.

These are the children betwixt the said Lord and Lady: 1. Lord William his eldest son, and heir to the said Lord James, who succeeded to all the foresaid lands. 2. James the second son, master of Douglas. 3. Archi-

bald the third son, Earl of Murray. 4. Hugh the fourth son, Earl of Ormond. 5. John the fifth son, Lord of Balveny. 6. Henry the sixth son. Margaret wife to the Lord of Dalkieth. Beatrix wife to the Lord Aubigny. Janet wife to the Lord of Biggar and Cumbernauld. Elizabeth Douglas was the fourth daughter.

Jacobus Crassus.

*Douglasii crassique mihi cognomina soli
Conveniunt: O quam nomina juncta male.*

James the Gross.

To be a Douglas, and be gross withal,
You shall not find another 'mongst them all.

Of WILLIAM slain in Stirling castle, the Seventh WILLIAM, and Eight Earl of DOUGLAS, the Sixteenth Lord, and Fifth Duke of TOURAINE, &c.

UNTO James succeeded his son William, a man of another metal, and resembling more his grandfather, and cousin who was put to death in Edinburgh castle, than his father, who did remember, and imitate more his cousin's diligence, than his father's negligence; for he endeavoured by all means to entertain and augment the grandeur of the house, by bonds, friendship and dependences, retaining, renewing, and increasing them; and therefore his marriage with his cousin Beatrix is attributed to him, and is thought to be his own doing, and not his father's. Upon his first coming to be Earl, his first care was to establish some certain order for his affairs, for which purpose he convened his whole friends at Dumfries, made choice of his counsellors; createth his officers for his rents and casualties, and setteth a constant order in his house. Great was that house, as hath been said, and doubtless it was nothing diminished by him, but rather increased by the ac-

cession of his father's estate, which he had ere he was Earl, and his wife's, which being added unto the old patrimony of the house, made it to surpass all others that were but subjects; for it had been ever growing from hand to hand continually, since the time of Lord James slain in Spain, who had the Lordship of Douglas only at the first; to it was added the Lordship of Galloway by Archibald slain at Halidonhill; by Archibald the Grim, the Lordship of Bothwell; by Archibald the Third, called Tineman the dutchy of Touraine and Lordship of Longueville; Annandale and the Earldom of Wigton, by Archibald the fourth; and now the Lordship of Abercorn by Gross James: so that his revenue hath been huge at this time, as appears also by the rank he ever carried, as second in the kingdom.

His dependence and following may be judged by these his Lordships and estate; and for his other friendships, there were divers houses of the Douglasses, as Angus, Morton, Drumlanrig; by alliance he had Aubigny and the Lord Fleming of Cumbernauld, who had married his sister; by his mother the Earl of Orkney; by his wife Beatrix the house of Crawford, of which her mother was a daughter, beside the old friendship that was ever betwixt them; and this may be seen by history, which to observe it, whereof more may be found by a more accurate disquisition. Thus enriched, thus waited on, thus followed, thus served, thus underpropped, and sustained by wealth, friendship, dependence, alliance and kindred, his power and greatness was such, as was not matched under the prince by any in this kingdom.

But here is the *malheur*, the principals of his own name, Angus and Morton, assisted him not, but divided themselves from him, and either were not his friends, or even became enemies, as we shall hear hereafter: what the occasion thereof was, is not directly mentioned; some think it was the discontentment they had conceived at his marriage, either because they accounted it unlawful, or because some of them would have had her to themselves, which is the more likely, or in respect of their kindred with the king who was indeed induced,

though not yet, to think hardly of him, or out of emulation of his greatness, as an hinderance to their growth; which was Bishop Kennedy's opinion to his brother the Earl of Angus: and so it falleth out often, where a decay is to come upon a house, it first divides from and within itself; yet that was but an insensible point at this time, his own greatness being such, as would scarce suffer him to find the loss, standing as it were not by any friendship, but merely of himself, and upon his bottom.

At the very first, when he entered to the Earldom, he entered also as hereditary, to the enmity of the two grand guiders of the time, Livingston and Crichton, with whom the hatred took beginning in his uncle's time, and was thereafter traiterously and cruelly prosecuted by them on his two cousins: it continued, though coldly, in his father's time, and was now quickened and revived by himself. They would needs lay the blame of whatsoever disorder happened in the country upon him, not only of what fell out in the borders, (where he commanded, and might command indeed) but even in the Highlands also: that which John Gorme of Athole did, who fought with the Laird of Ruthven, and would have rescued a thief out of his hands, being apprehended by him as sheriff, if he had not been defeated, and thirty of his men slain by Ruthven; they would have it to be thought, that the Earl Douglas forsooth had an hand in it. But is well that our writers say, it was but thought so, and though it had been said so by his enemies, there is no necessity to believe it was so; for they done him more wrong, and dealt more treacherously with him, than to make such a report: for me, I cannot believe he should interpose in matters at such a distance, or that John Gorme could not do such a thing without the Earl of Douglas, or that the Earl Douglas would meddle with such a matter; this I believe, that in his own bounds he would suffer none to acknowledge the governors, which was his uncle's course, as we heard, seeing he was himself to be answerable for them. It was his father's way also, though more coldly, according to his natural disposition, as may be gathered of that which is

said, that he repressed not thieves, though he entertained them not; which is as much as to say, as he was not author, or occasion of their theft, yet he being no magistrate himself, and others having taken the government upon them, he would let them bear the weight of their own charge in executing thereof, and would not help them therein by restraining any; and that so much the rather, because having murdered his nephew, he could not with credit employ himself to ease them of their burden by his assistance; he did them no hurt, he could not with honour do them any good; so he lets them alone, doing to them neither ill nor good; than which, I think, he could not do less; and where just cause of enmity was, how could it be more modestly used? except they would have had him, after such a villanous fact, to go creeping under their feet, as we say, which the meanest man will not do after the smallest injury, and even where there is no injury, unless men reap some benefit, they will suffer others to do their own part, and not help them, where they have no interest, either as belonging to their charge, or from whence they may gather some profit.

It is true, he only could do that service, and there was no ability in them that had the charge, but he was not obliged to supply their inability; and why should they have taken on them? or why should the states (which I think did not, but that it was done by faction) have laid it upon them that were not able to discharge it? This was not wisely done, and it is the very point of the error in the estates, so called, and the ground of all the inconveniences that fell out, for they chose men that had not power to discharge the office, and such as had, did let them do it alone, and withal perhaps disdained their preferment, as being without merit, for we see no merit in them by true virtue. Hereon arose discontents, then grudges, then crossings, then blamings, and reproaching in words and deeds, growing at last to an open enmity. Of such great importance is it to make right choice of men for employments, and such wisdom is requisite in the choosers, be it estates, be it princes, not to follow affection, but to con-

sider worth and ability rightly, and to employ accordingly, which if it be not done, it carrieth with it infinite inconveniencies, and hath troubled many estates, yea ruined them, and it must needs be so. Happy state, happy Prince, yea happy he whosoever, that having a necessity to employ others, as who hath not, employeth according to reason, and not affection, or hath his affection ruled by reason, which if he do not it, shall disgrace the employer, breed disdain to him that is employed, and bring contempt upon both, which will burst out with occasion, and not long be curbed and kept in, though it lurk for a time.

It may be, this Earl of Douglas hath gone further than his father in showing his contempt of these justice-bearers; it may be he hath borne with the Bordermen, and been more slack in repressing of them, (for his father repressed them, though not enough) because he had intention to employ them, being more sensible of the wrong done to his cousins, and had a greater eye to revenge it, and therefore was loath to controul these men of service, further than the mere necessity of his place did require at his hands; whereof the rule, in the eyes of the people, was to save all men from oppression as far as he could; in his own eyes, the rule which he propounded to himself was, to protect his friends and dependers, and for his adversaries, to rejoice perhaps at their smart, if not to procure it; as for neutrals, to leave it to the magistrate to redress what is amiss, not perceiving by that means he doth more hurt the country than his enemies, and wounds his own credit more than their reputation; and therefore he lost more by furnishing them with some ground of obloquy, offending the people and honest men, than he gained by the hurt of his adversaries, or favour of broken men. Nothing is more popular, yea nothing is more profitable than justice, say all writers, not to mean and private men only, who incur the danger of law by injustice, but even to great men, even to princes, who if they incur not the danger of laws, being placed above the reach thereof, yet do they lose the most profitable instrument of all their actions, by which they

must needs work, and without which they cannot; the hearts of men. It feareth me, too many think it enough to have their hands, to have their bodies at command; but let not men think they can have their bodies, if they have not their hearts; neither their hearts, if they have them not indeed in a high measure of affection: Who hath no measure of affection, can have no command of the body to any purpose, and a slack affection produceth but a slack action as it hath ever proved: so that in effect policy hath that chief object to work on the affections of men, and that not to deceive or force them, for neither of these can work well and long. Neither is it sufficient that a man see not a present evil, as a prince a present insurrection, a great man a present loss of his followers and favourers, which falleth out sometimes, but not always. Oftentimes it is like a canker, working by piece-meal insensibly, from degree to degree, upon the affections, till it hath consummated the work of disgrace of the party it seizeth on, and windeth their favours out of the hearts of men: as commonly men's actions that procure it are of the same sort, not all in an instant, or at one time, but one ungracious fact cometh after another, and another again upon the neck of that, and so forth. This therefore is so much the more diligently to be taken heed of, and eschewed in the beginning; or if any error escape, to be taken up and recompensed by amendment or some other grateful action importing as much favour as the error did disdain: neither must the affections of men be suffered to cool, languish, and to be eaten up at unawares, till at last they utterly decay and perish.

Thus we may see here, he hath not been well advertised by those of his house of Douglas, which before were the most esteemed, the best beloved, and favoured universally almost by the whole country. But now, while as they would trouble the governors, and let their inability be seen, and for that end either bear with thieves, or suffer them, they are not aware by that means they suffer an ill opinion of themselves to creep into men's minds, and that love of the people to di-

minish by piece-meal, for the space now of three or four men's lives. And whereas they were wont with their heritage to succeed to a general favour of the people, now, on the contrary, they succeed to a grudge and ill opinion, and so an universal dislike, which at last hath done away all that wonted love, and turned it into hatred, which did greatly advance and further the plots of their enemies against them, and made their greatness odious that was accustomed to be favoured. It is very true, that the men against whom he set himself had used no good means, abused their offices, abused their country, and the name of their king and commonwealth, for their own particular ends, yet he should not have used ill means, no not against ill men; and the bare name of authority is of weight in the eyes of men, as the name of theft odious; from any countenancing whereof noblemen should be far, as also from seeming to rise against any manner of authority, though authority be put even in mean men's hands as these were, chiefly when the opposers of authority can make no other end appear but their own private interest, and that blotted with the enormities of broken men: yet what shall be given to a just anger? what unto the time? what unto youth? all these plead pardon if not approbation, the rather for that he taketh up himself from that sort of doing, so soon as he can get a right King, to whom he might have access, and to whom he might yield with honour, which was ere long.

The next year, 1444, the King taketh the government on himself directly, thither immediately the Earl Douglas concludeth to address himself, and by all good means to obtain his favour, to satisfy the people, to satisfy all men that were offended, and fully to change that course he had before followed. Certainly repentance is worth misdeed; and it may be seen, that the force of enmity hath driven him into these faults, which, as soon as he can, he layeth aside. So coming with a great company to Stirling, he deals with the King by the intercession of such as were about him, and finding that he was appeased, goeth on, and puts himself and his estate in his Prince's will, partly purging himself of the crimes past,

partly confessing them ingenuously, and telling him, that whatever estate he should have from that time forth, he would owe it to the King's clemency, and not ascribe it to his own innocence; that if the King would be contented to be satisfied by good offices, he would endeavour not to be short of any infidelity, observance, diligence, and good-will towards him; that in repressing and punishing of thieves, whose actions his enemies laid upon him, there should no man be more severe, nor more careful; that he was come of a house that was grown up, not by doing injuries to the weaker, but by defending the weaker and common people of Scotland by arms; certainly a true conclusion, and undeniable by his greatest enemies. But I have thought good to set down all as it was conceived, for whether there was any fault or not, his submission was great, and his repentance sufficient to purge it whatsoever it were. Such is his respect to his sovereign Prince, and such the force of authority rightly placed in the due owner thereof, and such was also the force of truth in his speech, that the King, understanding that it was true in his predecessor, and hoping that it would be true in himself, moved also by the private commendation of his courtiers, not only passed by, and forgave whatever had been amiss in his life before, but also received him into his most inward familiarity, and did communicate unto him the secrets of his council. Neither was the Earl unworthy thereof for his part, but behaved himself so well that within a short time he acquired the favour of the King by obedience, of his courtiers and servants by liberality, and of all men by gentleness, courtesy and modesty, and put the people in hope that he would prove a meek and sober-minded man.

The wiser sort doubted, say our writers, whether so sudden a change would turn: but why should we think it a change? or if it were a change, it was very casual, very apparent, and nothing to be wondered at, for it is this in effect, he had been untoward to base men, why should he not yield to his King? he had slighted the shadow of authority in them, why should he not acknowledge and reverence the beams of it in his

Prince? He had been froward to his enemies, why not gentle to his friends? He had sought to make them smart that wronged him, why not cherish those that did him good offices? he had warred on them, that had warred against him, why should he not keep friendship with those who kept friendship with him? Certainly these are not changes, neither of nature nor of manners, but are commonly, we see, in one and the same nature, and proceed from one and the same cause, which is greatness of courage, and regard of due honour. The greater despiser of baseness, the greater reverence of true greatness; the greater repiner against compulsion, the gentler and calmer being used courteously; the harder enemy, the faithfuller and sweeter friend: so that we may suspect these men's wisdom, that did so far mistake his true courage, and accounted that a change, which was but a continuation of his inbred disposition.

Two men are said to have taken umbrage at the matter, whose consciences were guilty of what they had deserved, Alexander Livingston and William Crichton; not for the change of his manners, but for the change of his credit. They had traiterously slain three innocent noblemen, his two cousins and Malcolm Fleming. They had kept himself back from his Prince, and his Prince from him, and were sorry that ever they should have met in a friendly sort. They would have been glad to have blown the bellows of dissension, to have irritated the one, and misinformed the other, made their own quarrel the King's, and so have caused the King and country to esteem so of it. They were now disappointed of that, and the Earl had access to inform the King of their misdemeanours in their office, and to move him to call them in question for it. They knew he would remember the wrong done to his cousins; they knew how unable they were to answer for many of their facts; and therefore they retire themselves from court, Livingston to his own house, Crichton to the castle of Edinburgh, which he had still in his keeping. Neither was the Earl Douglas negligent on this occasion, that was thus offered to seek justice by law and by

right, to be avenged of his enemies for the wrong done by them against law; wherefore he diligently informed the King from point to point, of their misbehaviour in their office, how they had abused him, abused his rents to their own private use, and moved him to call them to an account thereof; whereupon being summoned to a certain day, they durst not compare; but, to set a fair face on the matter, they answered by procurators or by letters, “ That they were ready to give
“ an account of their government; that they had been very
“ careful of the King and country; desired nothing so much
“ as to give an account thereof before equal judges: but for
“ the present when the minds of men were pre-occupied
“ with the favour of their enemies, and all access closed with
“ armed men, the King behoved to pardon, that they did e-
“ schew, not to come to judgment, but to come in the danger
“ of their deadly enemies and keep their lives for better times;
“ when they should have removed the captain of thieves,
“ from the King’s side, which they had oft-times done before,
“ they would approve their innocency to the King and all ho-
“ nest men.”

These reproaches and brags touched and were meant of the Earl Douglas. Him it was they called *Captain of Thieves*, because of the Border-men, of whom many were his followers. That they removed him often before, was idle boasting; for he had abstained to come to the King, so long as the King was in their custody, so long as he was in the castle of Edinburgh, where they might have murdered him, as they did his cousins. That he was their enemy, he denied not, and had just cause so to be; but to take that excuse from them, he gave them assurance he should not proceed against them anywise but by order of law, and offered for that purpose to go from court till they should come to it in safety. And to meet their reproach of *Captain of Thieves*, and their boasting of the just administration of their offices, he was ready to prove that they themselves were thieves, that they had stolen the King’s revenues, and distributed to their friends, and converted them to their own

particular use, and that they had traiterously against justice murdered his cousins, whereof he besought the King to grant him justice: and so a new charge was given out, and another day appointed for them to compear; which being come, and they not compearing, they were denounced rebels, in a convention kept at Stirling the 4th of November, and their goods and moveables confiscated.

Thereafter John Forrester of Corstorphin, a depender of the Earl Douglas, is sent with a power of men to intromit with their goods; who having received their houses, some he razed, some he manned with new forces and provision: and so without resistance he returned laden with great spoil. He was scarce retired, when Crichton assembled his friends and followers so suddenly, as none could imagine; furrowed the lands of Corstorphin, together with the lands of Strabrock, Abercorn and Blackness, and amongst other goods they drave away a race of mares that the Earl Douglas had brought from Flanders, and were kept in Abercorn, doing more harm than he had received. This may seem strange to any man; neither do our histories sufficiently clear it, either where he got these forces; or whither he carried the goods. They insinuate, that he was aided and assisted under-hand by Bishop Kennedy, and the Earls of Angus and Morton. Angus was the King's cousin-german, son to his father's sister, and (by her) brother to the bishop; Morton had married the King's own sister. But of these, the bishop's power lay beyond Forth, for he was Archbishop of St. Andrews; and the Earl of Angus further, beyond Tay: so it is hard to conceive, either how they could suddenly assemble their folks, or that they could convene many, except such as Angus had on the south-side of Forth in Liddisdale, Jedburgh-Forest and Bonkle; likewise Morton's lands and friends were, most part, on the same side of Forth, to make assistance against the Earl Douglas. But however apparently, they did it not openly; and this, it was against order, against authority, and against law: and if the Earl Douglas had done it, it would assuredly have been called an open rebellion against the King, theft, op-

pression, presumption, arrogancy, insolence and faction, as we heard it was before, when he contemned the governors only, and as it will be called, perhaps, hereafter. If men allege, that the King was guided with the Earl Douglas's counsel; and his name used to a particular only; tell me, I pray you, was there ever any thing more formally than this against Crichton? And if the Earl Douglas's particular was in it, what then? how many actions of justice are otherwise done without instigations of private men? without the mixture of their cause? without their particular suiting and particular insisting? and if it be lawful to any to seek justice for his own particular, the Earl Douglas's particular was such, as very well became him to insist in; the wrong so manifest, the murder so vile and traitèrous. And if that which is done against the laws shall not be accounted wrong, nor esteemed to touch the King, because parties have their particular in that law, none or few things shall be accounted to be done against the King, or against law; for there is almost ever some particular joined: and the same hath been and will be the Earl Douglas's case. This therefore cannot be accounted innocence: yea no less than open violence, and plain rebellion, and presumption against the Earl, clad now with justice and laws, and against the King as protector, and patron of justice. No marvel then if the Earl Douglas was offended herewith, both for his own cause, whom the loss touched so near, and for such manifest contempt of the King, and if therefore he seek to be avenged thereof.

But there was a different form to be used, according to the different actors; of which we see there are two sorts, Crichton and Livingston were open enemies, open actors; they themselves obnoxious to the law; against them the law will strike, and so he proceeded with them: he besieges openly Crichton in the castle of Edinburgh, and no question he had taken from him before whatsoever was without it. The others, not open enemies, and actors themselves, they were but secret stirrers up, abettors and assisters of his enemies; and among them Bishop Kennedy was the chief plotter and

deviser; the law could not well be had against him, he must be met with in his own way; he had done besides the law, he must be met with besides the law; he had done disavowedly, he must be met with disavowedly. Therefore he writes to the Earl of Crawford, who with Alexander Ogilvy of Innerwharitty gathered a great host, entered Fife, and without resistance spoiled the Bishop's lands, either because they could not get himself, or because they had a greater mind to the booty than to the quarrel. The Bishop using his own weapons, curseth them; but they made small reckoning of his curses. Nevertheless shortly after there fell variance between Crawford's eldest son (the Master of Crawford) and the Ogilvies, about the Bailliary of Aberbrothick; for the monks had given it from the master to Innerwharitty, and hereupon having assembled their forces on both sides, they were ready to fight it out. But the Earl of Crawford having gotten advertisement, came into the field to have composed the business, and trusted they would have respected him, and not have offered him any violence, he entered in between the two parties, where having staid his son's company, he was going over to speak with the Ogilvies, to have brought matters to a parley and treaty: in the mean time, one that neither knew what he was, nor what his intent was, runs at him with a spear and slays him; hereupon the battle joining, the victory fell to the master of Crawford, there being 500 slain of the Ogilvies side, Alexander Ogilvy taken, and the Earl of Huntly escaping on horseback. This victory was obtained chiefly by the valour of the Clydesdale men, of whom the Earl Douglas had sent about 100 to assist the Master of Crawford. This Master of Crawford was now Earl, his father being slain, and was called Earl Beardie, of whom there will be mention made hereafter, he being that Earl with whom Douglas is said to have entered into league; we see there was friendship betwixt them now, the Earl's Lady Beatrix being a sister's daughter of the house of Crawford, besides the old friendship that

had been, ever since the first Earl's time, betwixt the two houses.

In the mean time the siege of the castle of Edinburgh, where Crichton was shut up, had now continued some six or seven months, from the midst of July, as appeareth, unto the beginning of February in the next year; for there being a parliament called, to be held at Perth, it was removed to Edinburgh, that the siege might not be interrupted, and sat down in the beginning of February 1445. The siege lasted two or three months after, which makes in all some nine months, or thereby: at last both parties, the besieger and besieged, being wearied, the castle was surrendered to the King, on condition that Crichton should be pardoned for all his offences which he had committed against the King, and should be suffered to depart life safe, which was granted unto him. Our writers term them the offences which he was said to have committed against the King, as if they should say, there was no offence indeed done to the King; and more plainly a little after, as in all contention, he who is most strong would seem to be most innocent: which sayings are to be judiciously considered and accurately weighed, whereof we have spoken before; but if they will needs have it so, we will not be contentious. Thus Crichton, not so much hurt as terrified, escaped due punishment, by means of the castle, which could not easily be taken, but by composition. Whether this was through the impatience of the Earl Douglas, that would not take leisure to wait on the siege, until they should have been forced to yield for want of victuals; or whether Crichton hath had some secret friends at court, who did make use of this occasion to work his safety, there is no mention. But Livingston leaped not so dryshod, being no less guilty of his cousin's murder. The Earl had bent his just indignation against him also, and caused summon him to the parliament of Edinburgh, together with his two sons, James and Robert Livingston, (this Robert had been treasurer) and David Livingston his cousin; his friends also, Robert Bruce of Airth, with James and Robert Dundas. The

Lord Livingston himself, with the two Dundases, were convicted, forfeited, and condemned to perpetual prison in the castle of Dumbarton. The other three, James and Robert his sons, and David his cousin, and Bruce also, were executed. What the crimes were that were laid to their charge, whereof this difference of punishment did arise, it is not written either by the old or late historians. This appears, that it hath been no particular of the Earl Douglas, of which the father was most guilty, and that their process hath not been guided and ruled by him, nor framed according to his spleen, which would have aimed most at the old man, as accessary to the death of his cousins, whereas we see he escapes with imprisonment only; his sons are harder used, being put to death. So that it must needs have been for some other crime, whereof the Acts of Parliament that are extant in print makes no mention or particular relation as the form is. And James Livingston in his speech at his death, purgeth himself, as free of all true crime, what by being innocent of some, and having obtained a remission of others: yet he mentions not what was alledged against him; wherefore we must leave it as uncertain. Some conjecture, that it was for keeping of some castles and strong houses, and not rendering them to the King, being summoned, against an Act of Parliament made by Crichton before; by which Act Crichton also himself was forfeited afterwards: but we know no ground for that opinion. They alledged also another Act which only is extant, the other not being extant, and may seem to sound something that way, made in the second Parliament, in the year 1488, against the resetting of rebels in castles: which imports no keeping out of houses after they be charged or summoned to render by the King's officers, but only commands to arrest their persons; or to take surety and bail for them that they do no harm. Neither is there any penalty, much less forfeiture, annexed thereto; only it says, they shall be forced and constrained to do it. This execution of the Livingstons is cast into the year 1447, after that Queen Mary (the Duke of Guelder's daughter) was married to the King, at which time

it is said that Crichton was also forfeited, notwithstanding he had been ambassador in procuring and making that marriage. The cause of his forfeiture is given out to be the keeping of the castle of Crichton, when it it was summoned and charged by a herald of arms, according to, and by virtue of the Act foresaid. But we have already spoken of that Act, and we find no mention of any Parliament that year. Neither from the year 1443, until the year 1449, wherein he should have been forfeited. And this we observe, that judgement may be adhibited in the reading of those and such like things: however Crichton thus dashed, the Livingstons some executed, some imprisoned, forfeited, and condemned, there seemed to be some compensation for the murder of his cousins; also their assister Bishop Kennedy received his part, for it is said that he had much ado to save himself, by leaving his goods a prey to them that pleased to take them.

These things are imputed to the Earl Douglas as faults, why I cannot tell, unless we require of him that exact philosophical disposition, to be free from all humour of revenging: which few have brought with them that have been conversant in the affairs of state or commonwealth; no not those who have been accounted as philosophers, and that very precise ones, such as were both the Cato's, whose common ordinary course was to be avenged of their enemies, by public accusations and pursuit of law: wherein if there be a fault, let there be no law that permits it, yea that allows it, and exhorts unto it. It is recorded of Cato called the Censor, that having met a young man in the street, who had accused his father's enemy, and got him condemned, he cherished and embraced him, saying, it was far better so to celebrate the funeral of his father with the tears and condemnation of his adversaries, than to sacrifice with kids and lambs. It is natural to men to resent injuries, and as natural to seek the repairing of them; and he is excused who recompenses a wrong received: and he is accounted also just who does it by order and modesty, that hath patience to suit it, and abide the delays of a court-suit; it being a mean to purge blood out of the land. Nor does either

philosophy or religion forbid it, but by the contrary commands and allows it: only the caution is, that the mind of the pursuer be void of malice, and his eye set upon justice; of which intention the searcher of hearts can only be the competent judge. If some imperfections and weakness of nature do mingle with the action, we must not always for that either utterly reject the action, or condemn the author: but we must acknowledge that as right which is right, and pardon the imperfection, which none wants. We must not exclaim against it, as if it were nothing but partiality; nor against the doer, as merely vindictive, chiefly in a fact so very enormous, as the murdering of his cousins was: wherefore if we shall, without partiality in ourselves, consider this whole pursuit, and give it the right name, we shall call it kindness to his kinsmen; equity, justice, modesty and patience, rather than wrong and malice; and praise him for his kindness, and faithfulness in friendship, in revenging their quarrels, which hath been his very inclination, as will appear hereafter. Yet not only this his just pursuit, but every thing that fell out in the country is laid upon him to brand him: as the slaughter of James Stewart by the Boyds, and the like; the taking of the castle of Hales by Patrick Dunbar, which he is said to have taken, and killed the keeper thereof, because the Lord Hales had then received the Queen-mother into the castle of Dunbar, who had fled hither to eschew the troubles of the times. The Earl Douglas, within a few days after, got the castle of Hales again, on condition to suffer the said Patrick Dunbar and his men to depart with their lives safe. Likewise he is said to have constrained Sir James Stewart (the black knight of Lorn) who had married the Queen-mother, to go out of the country, upon some speeches uttered by the said Sir James against the ill government of the affairs of the kingdom: but neither is it set down what the words were, nor what sort of constraint was used towards him. This Sir James, as he was sailing into France, his ship was taken by the Flemings, and he himself died soon after.

The next year, which was 1448, there fell out war with

England, and incursions made on both sides by the Borderers; where the Earl Douglas began again after so long an intermission, viz. from the entry of King James I. in the year 1423, the space of twenty-five years to take upon him the managing of the war, which his house had ever done, and he now also discharging with honour, and following the footsteps of his predecessors; for Dumfries being burnt by the Earl of Salisbury, Dunbar spoiled by the Earl of Northumberland, James Douglas the Earl's brother, burnt Alnwick in England, where having got great store of booty and many prisoners, as the others had done in Scotland, being almost equal, the prisoners and goods were changed, by consent and agreement of the captains. But this was only a small essay before a greater matter, which followed this same year, as should seem; yet there was some cessation for a while, and truce taken for seven years: in which time the Earl, who, as we see, was so zealous in prosecuting the revenge of the wrong done to his cousins, shows another property no less commendable, which is to be as kind and forward to advance his friends as he had been to quell his enemies.

For the same year James Dunbar (Hollinshed calls him John) Earl of Murray being dead, first he obtains the said Earl's daughter, who was niece to King Robert II. by his daughter, for his third brother Archibald; then the title of Earl of Murray from the King: notwithstanding that she whom his brother had married was but the youngest sister, the elder being married before her father's death unto James Crichton, of whom the house of Frendraught is descended. How it came that he was preferred before Crichton, who married the elder sister; whether because the titles of Earls do not go by succession unto the heirs of line, but by the pleasure of the Prince, and that he had more court than Crichton; or whether there was some respect also had to the kindred; or whatever cause there were of it, it gave matter of speech to his enviers; and to our histories it hath furnished matter of censure, as a wrong done to the elder sister, to whom they think it belonged. He obtained also his fourth

brother Hugh to be made Earl of Ormond; and his fifth brother John to be Lord of Balveny, and baron thereof, with many rich and fruitful lands. In which actions of his, when men can find no ground of alledging that he did any wrong, they blame him as immoderate, in augmenting too much the greatness of his house.

Wherein I cannot but praise his kindness and carefulness, in preferring of his friends by all lawful means, which is a duty standeth with wisdom, and a right wisdom; neither was it ever, or can it be ever justly discommended, where there is no injury committed: whereas not to do it, if a man be able, and not to seem to do so, proceeds either of carelessness, or, that which is worse, wickedness, self-love, and in some, envy and malignity, even to their own friends. Which kind of doing deserves no commendation, when it is but carelessness; far less when it is done of malice; last of all, when men do not only not labour to advance their friends, but even endeavour to keep them under, by a point of wisdom which they think very deep, that they may remain servants to them; fearing that if they come to any preferment, they would not be so ready to serve them, and might perhaps grow up above them. This humour, as it is malignant, and an ill disposition, so it is no great good wisdom, whatsoever subtilty it may seem to have in it; for they advert not, that they hinder them who would stand them in stead, and cut them short in power to be steadible to them, and so cut down the props of their own standing, and such as would support them in their need and necessity. And while they fear that their friends outstrip them, they give place and matter to their enemies to overtop them both. Now the fear which they apprehend of their friends neglecting their duty to them, is very far off; and if ever it come to pass, it should not be envied, providing that kindness remain among them, though they should grow greater than they; and howbeit they answered not our expectation in kindness, except it were joined with extremity of wickedness, and perhaps not then neither; ought we to repent or repine, it being much more tolerable than to be over-

matched by an enemy, as it often falleth out, and can hardly choose but fall out, when a house standeth alone by itself, having no honest member thereof to underprop and uphold it. Besides, while men thus seek to make their friends altogether servile to them, their friends perceiving it, as it can hardly but be perceived, whatever cunning be used to cover it, are more averse to serve, as men's nature is, in whom love-service questionless is the best, yea only fruitful service: and therefore, they will either repine the more, or withdraw themselves altogether, if they be of any spirit; and if they be not, their service is not worth having. So that men lose even their service which they so affect, and sometimes turn it by unkindness, into unkindliness and enmity, which hath ever been found by experience: neither did ever any house flourish so well, or any man in any house, as when they concurred with one mind to a mutual help one of another; and none ever prospered so well as he, who used and showed his care not to keep back his friends, or to neglect them, but to advance them, and take their business to heart as his own.

This is a true pattern of kindness, and no less of true wisdom; howsoever men may subtilize as they please, which is seriously and sincerely followed by our Earl of Douglas, and deserveth both commendation and imitation. Neither will it be found that this is it which did him hurt, but questionless made him strong, and not easy to be meddled with, and so difficult, that they could get no other mean to overthrow him, but that which they used, unto which they were forced, and of which constraint is the only excuse, as we shall see when he is slain. Therefore, to say his greatness was the cause of his wreck, is more subtile than solid; even as it may be said, in some sort, that a man's riches are the cause of his throat being cut by robbers, and that a man's virtues and good qualities are oft-times the cause of his overthrow, which should not, for all that, be eschewed. But shall there then be no moderation? will some say, and is it not fit that subjects should keep themselves within some certain bounds, that are not envious, or suspect to princes? Moderation is good both in prince

and subject; and it were to be wished that all would moderate their greatness, at least their appetite and desire of greatness; or if not that, yet so that they would limit the means of attaining it, and the end for which they desire it; and that they would have that wise conference of Cyneas with Pyrrhus before their eyes, that they might less affect it, or less err in affecting of it: but where the end is good, and the mean right and lawful, who craves further moderation and limitation, whether in princes or subjects, of their empire, as Augustus, or of their greatness, as this Earl here, and many others, whatsoever show it carry, and however histories speak thereof; besides their moderation that duty and religion requires, in so far as touches policy, will be found but sophistry, and no good policy, when it is well examined. In all this therefore we can acknowledge no fault; but on the contrary, kindness, effectual friendship, and a due and provident wisdom in strengthening himself against his enemies, and underpropping his house most wisely and most circumspectly.

Where is then his fault? ye will say, and what was the cause of his ruin? for we find he was ruined in the end. Truly we must not account of all that have fallen, that they have faulted; that is a great error in our judgements, and too common; that by finding faults in others, we may be thought the wisest; yet it is not hard to find his fault, if we will believe his enemies speeches set down by our historians; for though his friends fear nothing, and see nothing but his greatness, which is but a vain fear, his enemies see further, as enemies are quicker sighted in faults, or would seem to espy further: in their speech ye shall find these gross and lewd faults; 1. An insatiable cupidity, and then they explain in what, in avarice, 2. Then an impotent tyranny, two great faults, tyranny and avarice, sufficient to bring down, and such as has often brought down Kings as well as subjects. And that we may not think that there was but an idle disposition in him, and but a natural inclination, which he bridled, and suffered not to debord, they tell us the effects of them. 1. Of his avarice, and that unjust, as all avarice is, if it be properly avarice, he seized on

noblemen's patrimonies, he himself by law, and without law. 2. Of his tyranny and oppression, he gave the patrimony of mean men, as a prey to his dependers; and yet further, them that withstood his pleasure, he herried, or caused make away by thieves or brigands: he advanced new men to the highest honours, placing them in the room of ancient families. If any man spake a free word, tasting of liberty, it cost him no less than his life. These faults indeed are great ones, if they were true, and such as merited that their end should have been as it was; these are indeed errors both in policy and humanity, in private men or in princes, in small or great, in whatever person; and they were worthy to be detested, and abominated by all men, if they were true, for our authors say not that they were true. I say again, if they were true expressly; for they do but report them as the voice of his enemies, who did exaggerate things as enviously as they could, as that, amongst other speeches of theirs, doth witness, where they say, that all the riches of the country were heaped upon one family; that there were so many great Earls and Barons of them, that they had so much power and potency, that the King reigned but by their license and courtesy, as it were. As for the author's own judgement hereof, besides what he said before, that they were amplified in the most odious manner, he subjoins these and such like speeches as those, many of them were true, many besides the truth, and augmented above it, to procure hatred unto them. So he leaves the judgement uncertain, and tells not what things were true, and what false and augmented, which we ought to discern and separate, if it be possible, to make a right judgement: for this is indeed the craft of calumny, to mingle truth with falsehood, that something being known to be true, the rest may pass for such also. But prudence will sift and separate them, and winnow them in a right judgement, both that which is true, from that which is false, and in every point laid against him, so much as it hath of truth, from that falsehood which is mingled with it; for calumniators are excellent in their mixtures and compositions of truth and falsehood; so that

there is great attentiveness required to distinguish betwixt them; yet if we will attend to them, it may be they will be discerned. Let us then consider the particulars, and what particulars we find in any of those to be true, let us acknowledge it; what is not so, let us reject as false, and reckon amongst those that are but amplified and augmented for envy: after which rule we shall find in effect the last three to be those which are most true; 1. The riches; 2. The number; 3. The puissance of the house and name of Douglas: and yet not simply true as they set them down, for they amplify them also to stir envy, unless we interpret it favourably: for not all the riches of the country, nor all the honour was in their hands, though there were more in theirs than in any others at that time; yet there hath been more, both riches and honours, in the hands of some other before; for the Cummings are accounted to have been greater, and that their power was beyond the King's power: it was false, their power being but a dependent and subordinate, and could not be supposed to have been so great, so united, though they were of one name, as was seen afterwards. And however we find it was thought so of before in the first Earl's time, yet he never used it to the King's prejudice, after that he was informed of his right, which was now out of question, but these carry no fault in them. The rest which carry fault in them, the first two, avarice and tyranny, are to be tried by the effects: the third, taking to himself the noblemen's patrimony, by law and besides law. What he did by law take from them was not theirs; what besides law, we hear of no instance given. There is a fact may seem so in the Earldom of Murray, which he took not to himself, but to his brother: neither was that the patrimony, but the title and dignity, of which we have spoken already, and it was but a small matter. The fourth and fifth, his killing and robbing by thieves, and his dependers invading of other men's patrimonies, are of the same quality; for we hear of no instance, bearing any wrong; neither of the sixth and seventh, advancing of new men wrongfully, or killing of men for free speeches. And truly raising of new and mean men was the thing that he and his house did ever dislike very much, and

was the ground of their discord with the Livingstons and Crichton. And I hope no man will call his brother a new man. So that to be short, when we have sifted them all, we see nothing but falsehood and calumnies, and aggravations to move envy, which makes it no truth, for a truth augmented or diminished, is no longer truth, though otherwise it were true in substance.

Wherefore, leaving these speeches as the speeches of his enemies, that is to say, for calumnies, as they are called, and as they are indeed, we will come to that which is of greater weight, and follows in the author's own name, *Animus per se insolens*, he was of an insolent mind of himself, saith one, which being the judgement of one of the most learned and judicious writers, I will not contest, but leave it in the middle, and soberly crave to have it weighed, that we may see whether there be any necessity to make us think so or not, for it is historical only which I must think he hath found in fact as he hath had leisure and perused his histories, of which we are scarce, viz. That he grew by success to that impotency of commanding his affections, that he had his ears closed from the free admonitions of his friends. Nothing is more pernicious, nor is there a more certain prognostic of ruin to follow, than when men are so puffed up with the opinion of their own wisdom, that they disdain and contemn to hear, and to weigh the judgement of others: yet this that follows is an extreme high degree of it, that men might not dissemble their minds in silence, to hold their peace at those things which they could not approve, was not sure nor safe for them, which ought to be safe for all men to say nothing and keep their minds to themselves and God, which no other man, no not a man's self can command altogether: he is obedient that obeys in the rest: the mind is his that made it, and can search it, over which no man should usurp. The cause of all this ill follows, the abundance of flatterers, and giving ear to them; a natural, but a pestiferous fault, natural to all great men, and small, in their own kind: men are given to delight in what they believe, and to believe easily most good of

themselves, whom they love most of any, and for abundance of flatterers who wants them. Diogenes said he had his own parasites; the mouse was, if men failed: yea, men never fail, and perhaps failed not him. He whom all the world flattered, Alexander did he not flatter Diogenes? What was his speech to him but a flattery both of himself and Diogenes? or else an error concerning them both, when he said, if I were not Alexander, I would be Diogenes. So common is it, so natural is it; but notwithstanding it is hurtful and to be avoided, and the more carefully to be taken heed of, the more common and the more natural it is: he hath the fairest of the play that is most wary of it, and accounts it his greatest perfection, to know his imperfection; and he is most accomplished that best knows his defects, and wishes for helps, and knows he hath need of them. Out of doubt these were enough to bring down more than one Earl of Douglas. As for that which is further said of him; his old enemies were drawn to law to plead their cause before the same man, both judge and party, of whom many were spoiled of their goods, some of their lives; some, to eschew the unjust judgement, took voluntary exile unto them; and that which is said of their dependers, they overshot themselves, careless of all judgements, because none could contend with them in judgement, to all sort of licentiousness, robbing and stealing holy things, profane things, and slaying them they could get their hands over: neither kept they any bridle or measure in their wickedness. Of all this concerning his dependers, being so generally and almost hyperbolically conceived, I could wish among so many, that there had been some instance set down, that we might the better have known it, and discerned it. This, I am sure cannot be without hyperbole: that they did commit some gratuitous wickedness, that is, such as was for no good to them nor profit, and without gain, pleasure or profit, having no cause in the world for them, but only to keep their hands in use of wickedness, lest being disaccustomed from ill, some honest thought might come into their mind that might tame them from their wick-

edness and vileness. So strange a conclusion would have had clear and plain antecedents and not a few of those. It is hard to believe this upon any man's word, chiefly such a one as lived not in those times, nor was eye-witness, as we say of things, who by such speeches would have us to conceive more than he could, or by any could be expressed in words. But what one man could only gather out of histories, we might also have gathered by the same history, if he had named his authors, or shown the way of his collecting it from thence. But there being no footsteps of such enormities in the histories which we have, that can lead us to this, I know not if we be bound so to reverence any man's person, as to receive it absolutely. That which follows is of the same kind, wherein the evils of those times are amplified, that it fell out well for Scotland that England had their own civil wars in those days, otherwise Scotland had sunk under the burden: for first, their civil wars from this time, which was from 1444, until 1448, were not gréat, and but secret grudgings only. The commotion of *Blue-Beard* was not until 1449, and in Kent by John Cade in 1450; then the foreign wars with England might have moved the discord at home, as they had done often, and men fit for warlike employment, and given to arms, should have had matter to exercise themselves upon the common enemy, who in time of peace, for want of such employment as they are inclined to, are the cause of much evil at home. Last of all, we find the contrary by experience; for notwithstanding of these dissensions and disorders, yet they obtained a notable victory over the English, by the same Douglasses, who were accounted so disorderly in time of peace, but have ever proved in the eyes of all men honourable and dutiful in war, their enemies not being able to detract from their manifest and evident worth.

The occasion of this victory fell out thus, we heard how after the burning of Alnwick by James Douglas, younger brother to the Earl, a truce was made for seven years; notwithstanding which, in this year, as would seem, or in the next at farthest, the English, without any regard of the truce made inroads upon Scotland, spoiled, furrowed, and burnt the

villages far and wide where they went, which the Scots would not suffer to pass unrevenged: wherefore to cry quit with them, they entered England, and returned unto them as much hurt as they had received; and the storm fell chiefly upon Cumberland, from whence the beginning of the troubles had arisen, which was by this incursion almost reduced to a wilderness. When news hereof were brought to London, they gave order for levying of an army of 40,000 men, as some write, intending to bring Scotland under their subjection, which they thought would not be hard to do, in respect the country had been so lately wasted and impoverished, as also for that they knew their divisions at home: therefore, having made a levy of the best and choice soldiers, the Earl of Northumberland is made general, and there was joined with him a certain man, called Magnus (only a gentleman born) who had given good proof of his valour many times in France, where he had been brought up, and trained in the wars from his youth. This man bearing great hatred to the Scots and being too confident of his own sufficiency, is said to have obtained of the King of England, for the reward of his service, whatever lands he could win from them, for himself and his heirs in perpetual inheritance. He was remarkably by his long and red beard, and was therefore called by the English, *Magnus Red-beard*, and by the Scots in derision, *Magnus with the red mane*, as tho' his beard had been a horse's mane, because of the length and thickness thereof. The manuscript calleth him *Magnus with the red hand*, taking the word *mane*, for the French word, which signifieth an hand: but the attentive reader may perceive the error, and how it was a word merely Scotch, and used by the Scots in derision.

The King of Scots hearing of this preparation in England, caused also levy an army, whereof he made the Earl of Ormond (George or rather Hugh Douglas) general, who immediately went into Annandale, through which the English army was to come. Both sides being thus prepared, the English having past the rivers of Solway and Annan, pitch their

camp upon the brink of the water of Sark. The Scots marched towards them; and they hearing of their approach, made themselves ready; so that being come within sight of one another, they ranged their men in order of battle. In the right wing of the English army was this Magnus with the red mane, in the left Sir John Pennington with the Welshmen; the middle battle was led by the Earl of Northumberland himself. On the Scots side was the Earl of Ormond in the middle battle over against Northumberland, and William Wallace of Craigie opposed Magnus, and against Sir John Pennington was placed the knight of Carlaverock, called Maxwell, and Johnston of Johnston, with many inland gentlemen, saith the manuscript, because they had no great confidence in their own Annandale men, who were more set upon spoil than victory. Ormond exhorteth the army in few words, telling them, that they had great reason to hope for the victory, because they had taken arms, being provoked thereto; and that it could not be, but that so just a cause should have a happy event? Only behave yourselves valiantly, abate the pride of the enemy with a notable defeat, and so you shall reap a long lasting fruit of a short travel. When the English archers did annoy the Scots, with their arrows from afar, William Wallace cried out with a loud voice, so as he was heard by his followers, why should we stand still thus to be wounded afar off? follow me, says he, and let us join in hand-strokes, where true valour is to be seen: and so marching forward, and the rest following his example, they made so fierce an onset, that they quite overthrew the right wing thereof. Magnus perceiving that, being more mindful of his honour acquired in time past than of the present danger, resolved either to restore the battle, or lose his life with credit, pressed forward against Wallace of Craigie, to have encountered him; but ere he could come at him, he was encompassed about by the Scotsmen, and slain: his death put the English in such a fear, for they had great confidence in his valour and conduct, that they, without any further resistance, turned their backs, and fled in great

disorder. The Scots pursued so fiercely and eagerly that there was more of the enemies slain in the chase, than in the battle, chiefly upon the brink of the river of Solway, where the tide being come in, the river was not passable, and such as adventured to take it were drowned. There were slain in this battle 3000 English, and amongst those their great Magnus, and the Scots deadly enemy, who had presumed so of victory. A notable example to teach men not to be over confident in things of such uncertain events as are the wars; and as our proverb is, *Not to sell the bear's skin before he be slain*. There were slain besides him eleven knights of good account and note: of the Scots were lost but 600. There were taken prisoners a great number, amongst whom were Sir John Pennington, and Sir Robert Harrington knights, and the Lord Piercy son to the Earl of Northumberland, whilst he helped his father to his horse, who thereby escaped taking. There was also so great store of spoil got, as no man remembered so much to have been got at any battle before: for the English, trusting to their number, and the strength of their army, together with the opinion of their enemies' weakness, through dissention and variance, as they supposed, had brought with them their best furniture, and richest stuff, in full assurance of victory. Wallace of Craigie being sore wounded in the fight, was carried home, and died within three months after. The Earl of Ormond having gotten this honourable victory, conveyed the chiefest of the prisoners to Lochmaben, and then repaired to court, where he was joyfully met, and received of all, with all sort of honour that could be, envy herself not daring to open her mouth against him.

The King did highly commend him for this exploit, and exhorted him and the Earl Douglas his brother, that as their predecessors had often, as they also had done, defended the estate of Scotland with their labours and virtue, in most perilous times, and had given large proof of their valour and courage; that so they would at home accustom them-

selves to modesty, that they themselves would abstain, and that they would contain their friends from injuries toward the weaker sort: their power and puissance, which they had acquired by so many of their deserts towards their Kings, his predecessors; and the country, that they would employ it rather in suppressing of robbers and disorderly men, than to make more such by conniving at them; that this only was lacking to their full praise, which if they would add, they should find by experience there was nothing more dear unto him than the advancement of the house and name of Douglas. To this the Earl Douglas replied, he being the elder brother, and finding that this speech was chiefly directed to him, with great submission, and promised to do as his Majesty had exhorted them: and so they were dismissed, and returned home to their own houses with great honour and applause both of Prince and people, to whom they had by this victory purchased great quietness: for neither were the English borderers able to invade them any more, nor the King of England to send down a new army (which fain he would have done) by reason of the civil war which ensued shortly after at home: so that he chose rather to have peace with Scotland, in regard of the case he was then in, than war: wherefore he sent ambassadors, and obtained a truce for three years, the Scots thinking it no less expedient for them, in a case not unlike to his, through intestine dissention, though not open insurrection against the King. For notwithstanding all this service done to the King and country, the malice of such as were the enemies of the Douglasses was no whit abated; nay, their worth, the more it was shown, and the more brightly that it did shine, it did so much the more stir envy in their ill-willers, whose secret practices still continued, and whose credit in court seemed still to increase against them. Crichton, who before had been sent ambassador to Charles VII. of France, for procuring a wife to the King, had concluded a match for him with Mary daughter to Arnold Duke of Guelders, who, by her mother the Duke of Burgundy's sister, was come of the Blood-Royal of France, was now returned into Scotland

with her in the year 1448. This service and her favour increased his credit greatly with the King; which the Earl Douglas perceiving, was nothing pleased with it; but being discontented, obtaining leave of the King, he withdrew himself from court, seeing his error of having been contented that Crichton should be employed in that honourable message, thinking himself well rid of him by this his absence; which practice of court succeedeth sometimes happily, as it did against the Boyds in King James III's time in the very like case, yet it did not so now, but turned to the greater advantage and advancement of his enemy. Crichton was well contented with his retiring, esteeming it his gain to be so rid of him from the King's ear and presence.

Whilst they concorded thus in their discord, both willing one thing in so contrary minds, to wit, the Earl Douglas's absence, there fell out an accident that occasioned his longer absence, not from the court only, but out of the country also. Richard Colvill of Ochiltree was an enemy, and bare deadly feud to John Auchinleck of Auchinleck, a friend and depender of the Earl Douglas, whom the Earl having sent for to come to him to Douglas castle, for such business as he had to do with him, the said Richard having notice of the said Auchinleck's journey, notwithstanding he knew he went towards the Earl, whether stirred up by the Earl's enemies at court, or to put an affront upon him, or leaning to their credit for impunity, or out of impatience or presumption, or contempt of the Earl in respect of his withdrawing from court, not regarding him, or fearing his displeasure or anger, he lay in wait for him by the way, and set upon him with a number of armed men, where after some small conflict, Auchinleck was slain, and divers of his friends and servants with him. The Earl Douglas having notice hereof, the fact touching him so nearly in the person of his friend and follower in his service, coming towards him, and sent for by him, he was so incensed therewith, that whether distrusting the ordinary course of justice, as wherein he might be eluded by his enemies then guiders of court, or impatient of delay, or not accounting it

so honourable for him, nor so awful an example to others, concluding immediately to revenge it, and vowing solemnly he should be avenged before he either ate or drank, he took horse immediately, and with the readiest of his friends rode to the castle of Ochiltree, forced it, and slew the said Richard Colvill, and all the males within the castle that were come to the age of men. This opened the mouths of men diversly, according to their divers humours, some condemning his cruelty, some commending his courage, some saying that he had gone too far and done too much, others that he could do no less; that he had just cause, and that he had been ill used, his friend slain, his honour interested; that such kind of justice best became him. His enemies at court, took hold of it, aggravating it to the King, calling it an insolent fact, against law and custom! and however Colvill had deserved it, which they could not deny, yet it was a perilious example, prejudicial to all order, and to the King, to whom the punishing of such things belonged; so that the King became highly offended thereat.

Hereupon the Earl Douglas, partly to give place to his prince's anger, partly upon some remorse, as all blood hath ever some touch and sting of conscience with it, the next year being the year of jubilee, procured a licence from the King to go to Rome, pretending he would do penance for the said slaughter; but, as his enemies did interpret it, to shew his greatness to foreign princes and nations. Before he took his journey, having a care of his house, and being out of hope to have children of his own, as having been seven or eight years married without children, he procured his second brother James to be received by the King, and confirmed in the Earldom after himself. There went with him in company a great number of noblemen and gentlemen, such as the Lord Hamilton, Gray, Salton, Seton, Oliphant and Forbes; also Calder, Urquhart, Campbell, Fraser, Lawders of Cromarty, Philorth and Bass, Knights, with many other Gentlemen of great account. He went first to Flanders, and from thence by land to Paris, where he was honourably received by

the King of France, whom some call Lewis XI. but it must needs be Charles VII. who lived till the years 1460, some ten years after this jubilee, which behoved to be in the year 1450. The remembrance of the good service done by his uncle at Bauge, and his grandfather at divers times, and, at last, for spending his life for him at Vernoil, was not yet worn out of Charles's memory, in regard whereof, and for the place he carried, and the public league between the countries, he omitted no kind of honour undone to him that was fit for his quality and rank. From thence he took his journey towards Rome, which was filled with the expectation of his coming. He had taken from Paris with him his youngest brother George, a young man, who was there at schools, and of whom there was great expectation; but he died by the way, to his great grief. He is said by the manuscript to have been nominated bishop of Dunkeld; and that he was to be inagurated at Rome. Buchanan also saith it, perhaps following the manuscript; but they both forget that his eldest brother Henry is said by the same manuscript, in the life of their father, to have been bishop of Dunkeld; and this George died before he was fifteen years of age. I take it also to be an oversight in the same Buchanan, that he saith that this George was destined to be Earl by the King's permission, after his brother, who had no children; for it is against reason, that he being youngest of many brethren, worthy men, should have been preferred before them, while he was but yet a child at school.

While the Earl was thus in his pilgrimage, his enemies slept not at home, but, taking the opportunity of his absence, did both blame him at the King's hand, by all invention they could devise, and stirred up such of the common people as had received any wrong of any man, to complain to the King, alledging they had received it by the Earl of Douglas's friends or servants, and by such ways moved the King to cause seek Symington, then baillie to the Earl in Douglasdale, and to cite and summon him to answer to such crimes as were laid to the Earl's charge, for the actions perhaps of his dependers and clients, or at least for such things as his Lord had neither

commanded, neither perhaps heard of. Symington looking for no equity at their hands who moved such a citation, choosed not to come into judgement, suffering things to pass rather for non-compearance, than to compear, not knowing the state of things, or how to answer, having neither knowledge of them by himself, nor direction, nor information from his Lord. Upon this occasion his enemies laid hold, interpreted this his non-compearance in the most odious sort, and called it contumacy, and what grievous name they could devise; so they moved the King to send his servants to apprehend him, and would gladly have proceeded with all extremity against him, exclaiming against his presumptuous contempt of the King, and telling the King, that his royal authority was become a mockery, and despised by every base fellow; that by his lenity he did but foster the malapertness of the wicked sort; that by impunity new doors were opened to new misdoers; with such other speeches, in the most vehement manner they could, to have dipped the King in blood, and cut off all hope, as far as in them lay, of reconcilment betwixt them. But he, not being so far alienated as yet from Douglas, howbeit the complaints of so many had stirred up some dislike, and taken impression in his mind, was not moved with their speeches to that high degree, but persisted in his opinion to satisfy the complainers in their losses of goods by goods, but not to meddle with any man's blood: wherefore he caused Symington to be set at liberty, and commanded him only to satisfy the complainers. But he who could neither answer without information, nor satisfy without direction, humbly besought his Majesty, that since he had not information, and could not answer, being but a servant, and unacquainted with business; seeing also he was not collector of his master's rents, but only commander of his servants, it would please him to delay the matter till his Lord returned, whom he expected within few months, who he doubted not, both could and would answer to whatsoever complaint, and satisfy sufficiently at his Prince's pleasure, whatsoever damage he should have been found to do to any man. This seemed

most reasonable, that the Earl himself should be heard first, and not condemned unheard, and in his absence; and there could be no great prejudice in a short delay. Wherefore the King condescended to it, and yet notwithstanding, being importuned by the multitude of new complaints, he sent William Sinclair Earl of Orkney, a near cousin to the Earl of Douglas, being chancellor for the time, to intromit with his goods and rents in Galloway and Douglas, to satisfy complainers therewith: but it was to no purpose, for he was eluded, and almost mocked by the tenants. He alledged, and reported to the King, that was done by the instigation of the Earl of Ormond, that he was so frustrate; for the Earl Douglas had committed to him the managing of his estate in his absence, and he greatly disdained that Orkney, being so near of blood and alliance to them, should have undertaken that charge. The King irritated herewith, as a contempt of his authority; caused heralds to be directed, or pursevants, to summon all the name of Douglas, and their favourers, to compear upon a certain day, and the Earl himself within threescore days; which being expired, and none compearing, they were denounced rebels. Then the King himself went with an army into Galloway, where, at his first entry, having forced their captains to retire to their strengths, a small number of his host, whilst they followed the rebels uncircumspectly through strait places, were beaten back upon the King, not without some disgrace. The King moved with great indignation hereat, went and assaulted their chief forts; and first he took the castle of Lochmaben without great trouble or travel; thereafter with great toil and wearying of his men, the castle of Douglas, which he razed to the ground. He commanded the farmers, tenants and labourers of the ground, to pay their rents to his collectors, until such time as the complainers were satisfied with their Lord's goods.

These things being reported, (thus as they were done) to the Earl Douglas, while he was yet at Rome, moved him greatly, and greatly astonished them that were in his company; so that many withdrew themselves, fearing what it might

turn to; and he, with the few that remained with him, made what haste they could homeward.

As he came through England, he was honourably entertained by the King and Queen there: But when he approached near to the borders of Scotland, he staid a little time, and sent his brother James before to try the King's mind towards him; which when he found to be placable, he returned home, was kindly received, and lovingly admonished to put away from him disorderly persons, especially the men of Annandale, who had in his absence committed many outrages and cruelties. This when he had faithfully promised to perform, he was not only received into his former place of favour, but was also made lieutenant-general of the whole kingdom of Scotland. And this was the bitter fruit of his perilous pilgrimage, that hereby he loosed the reins to his enemies, and gave them power so far to prevail, as to embark the King in open quarrel against him, even to the casting down of his houses, and intromitting with his revenues. This notwithstanding was either his wisdom, or the account and respect of his place and person, that the King, who had done him such harm and disgrace, could be contented so to forget it, receiving him so far into favour, and advancing him, whatever blame or imputation may be laid upon him for his journey which was so rashly taken on, and which had so dangerous a sequel, yet this retreat from that storm cannot but be commended, and his dexterity whatever it were, acknowledged to have been great, which guided him through such billows and surges to so peaceable a port and haven. And it were to be wished that writers had set down by what means this was brought to pass, for the more perfect understanding of the history. But we must bear with this amongst many other defects that are to be found in them.

Now whatever wisdom, though undescribed in the particular, may appear to be in this, as much unadvisedness is evident in that which he did immediately after, in his journey to England; for, without acquainting the King, he went to the court of England, and had privy conference with that King,

and Queen; he pretended that it was for restitution of some goods taken out of Scotland, and not restored by the wardens of England; but this cause, the lighter it was, the greater suspicion did it move in his own King, who could not think it probable, that he being of that place, of that courage, of that nature, would, upon such an occasion only, take such a journey. The true cause is thought to be, that he went to treat of certain conditions for his assistance to be given to the King of England against his nobility, with whom he was then in hard terms, the wars of the house of York beginning to spring up, which increased afterward so mightily, and prevailed, to the ejecting him out of his kingdom.

This the Queen of England either foreseeing, or fearing some other such like enterprise against her husband, had dealt with the Earl Douglas when he came home through England from Rome the year before, to strengthen them by his help, and appointed him to return for performance, and perfecting of all conditions of agreement. But we find no effect of this agreement and conditions, whether because that conspiracy of the Duke of York was not yet come to maturity, and so Douglas was not employed, being prevented by death, which fell out shortly after this; or because they were not fully agreed, is uncertain: neither is it specified what the conditions were, only it is conjectured that they were the same, or such like as the same King Henry VI. granted afterward to the Earl of Angus in the time of James III. which if they were, they were no ways prejudicial to the King of Scotland, as shall appear there, yet being done without his knowledge, it gave occasion either to the natural jealousy of princes to think hardly of it, by his own mere motion, or to his enemies, so to construct it to the King, and stir him up by their speeches to that suspicion which he inclined to, of both which he ought to have been wary and not to have given such ground to the one, or to the other, by such a journey undertaken without the King's allowance.

Whether at his return he acquainted the King with what had past betwixt him and the King of England is not certain, and our writers seem to say the contrary; yet in that he

brought letters from the Queen of England to the Queen of Scotland, and she thereupon interceded for him: it is not improbable that he hath acquainted her, and also the King with the truth of the whole business; which whether the King did not believe, or if his jealousy remained not the less; and that he was not willing there should be such an accession and increase of the Earl's greatness, who, he thought was greater already than was safe for a King. He pardoned him the fault at the intercession of the Queen and some nobles; but he took from him the office of lieutenant, and all other public charge, that so he might be made unuseful and unserviceable to the King of England, or at least not so able to aid him, and so he might be frustrate of the conditions so liberally promised unto him from thence. He restored also his old enemy Crichton to the office of chancellor, and the Earl of Orkney was made lieutenant. Thus not only disappointed of his hopes, but disgraced at his Prince's hands, both by being himself depressed, and his enemies advanced, he was incensed against all the courtiers, taking all to proceed from their instigation. But more especially his anger was bent against Crichton, both as the ancient enemy of his house, and also as the chief author of all this present disgrace, by his surmisings; transported herewith, he gave way to his passion to carry him to a course somewhat more than civil, which until that time he had tempered, retaining it with the bridle of equity, and himself within the compass of the laws. Now whether altogether, and only for these causes foresaid, or if irritated by a new occasion of malicious speeches uttered by Crichton, that the kingdom of Scotland would never be at rest so long as the house of Douglas was on foot; that in the ruin thereof stood the good of the realm, and peace of all estates; that it was necessary a man of so turbulent a nature, so puissant and powerful by his kindred and alliance, whom no benefits could appease, nor honours satiate, should be cut off, and the public peace established by his death; or if Crichton contrived this speech to make Douglas the more odious, and his own quarrel seem the juster against him (for both are written) so it is, that the Earl

caused certain of his friends and servants ly in wait for him as he was riding from Edinburgh towards Crichton; but he escaped, being acquainted with the plot, as some write, well accompanied, and excellently well mounted, but not without being wounded himself, and having slain some of his adversaries in his escape. Others attribute his escaping not to any foresight or fore-knowledge, but saith, that he was assailed in the night at unawares, and being astonished at the first, yet afterwards recollecting himself, for he was a man of good courage, he slew the foremost he met with; and having received some wounds, brake through them, and saved himself in Crichton castle, where he remained not long; but his wounds being scarce well cured, he convened his friends, and coming on the sudden to Edinburgh, had almost surprised the Earl Douglas, who was there in quiet manner, and looking for no such thing; but he getting advertisement hereof, did acquaint the King that he could no longer endure Crichton's hidden malice and practices against his life and estate, and now open attempts also; wherefore he desired to be excused, that he could no more repair to court, so long as Crichton was there, and so retired himself to his house, to remain as a malcontent for a season.

In the mean time, finding his enemies thus to increase in credit at court, and with their credit, as commonly it cometh to pass, in number and power, he to strengthen himself also on the other side against them, entered into a new confederacy with the Earls of Crawford and Ross, men of the greatest puissance and force next the Douglasses, that were in Scotland in their times, or rather he renewed the old friendship that had been betwixt them: for their houses were in old time in great friendship with the houses of Douglas, as hath been shewed; and the house of Crawford was particularly obliged unto them by divers good offices, from the days of Robert II. and in this same man's time had been helped against the Ogilvies at Aberbrothock; as his father also had, at the Earl Douglas's desire, spoiled Kennedy Bishop of St. Andrew's lands: and besides this, Beatrix Douglas, the Earl Douglas's

lady, was daughter to one of the Earls of Crawford, and could not but be of kin to this Earl. The sum of their bond was, that they should every one assist and defend another together with their friends and dependers, against all men; that they should have the same friends, and the same enemies, with reservation always, and exception of their duty to their Prince. But whether this bond was made of new, as some write, or if it were of old continued from hand to hand, and then renewed, as though it were intended in special against Crichton and his partakers, and due exception of the King expressly contained in it, is uncertain: however, they so possessed the King, that he interpreted all as done against himself: and therefore matters being come to public hostility betwixt Douglas and Crichton, and the country divided into factions, when the Earls of Crawford and Ross had sent to Crichton, and given up all friendship with him as an enemy to their dearest friend, by virtue of the foresaid league, he acquainted the King therewith, and with all vehemence exaggerated the league, as a conspiracy against him and his royal authority, and that it was very dangerous for him, when such great houses, and powerful men had combined together. The King apprehending it to be so, having once settled that opinion in his mind, did upon that ground build all his interpretations of the Earl Douglas's actions, and framed his own actions accordingly against him: neither was Douglas so fortunate or circumspect, as to avoid the occasions of fostering that opinion in the King; but, as commonly happeneth; when ruin is to come on men, all things work that way, so fared it with him in two facts. The first was on the person of the Lord Harris, who was too hardly used of him, as appears, the other on the tutor of Bombie, more justly, yet so, that his carriage in it seemed to confirm that which his enemies alleged against him, that he exercised his authority, and used his privileges more absolutely than the King had reason to be contented with. The occasion of the first, and thereof was, Sir William Harris of Terregles having been the Earl of Douglas's ancient depender, had now, in this frown of court, and diversity of factions, whether to please the court, and

because he accounted it justest to follow it, or because indeed he misliked things done by the borderers who followed Douglas, withdrawn himself from his dependence; and if he sided not openly with the other party, which he could nor durst hardly do, lying so near to Douglas, yet did he not follow him as he was wont, and so either by a real enmity in private or a kind of neutral in public, had procured the like behaviour of the Earl to him, to behave himself as neutral in his affairs; and as he had abstracted his dependence and attendance from him, so the other abstracted his protection from him. This when the Annandians perceived, they ready upon all such occasions, made a road, and furrowed his lands; hereof when he complained to the Earl, and had received answer according to the foresaid coldness betwixt them, he would need attempt some redress by his own power; and hereupon assembling a number of his friends, he rode into Annandale, to have rendered them the like, and either to recover his own, or to repair his losses out of their goods. But he was overthrown by them, and taken prisoner, and so brought to the Earl Douglas, he esteeming him as his own servant, and taken within his bounds where his jurisdiction, by regality or otherwise, was extended, put him to assize. They of the jury found him guilty, being taken after he had seized the goods, with *Red-hand* as they term it, and so being convict of theft, he was condemned, executed, and hanged as a thief, and that notwithstanding the King's earnest request for his life by letter. A pitiable matter, and greatly to be lamented: and though he had some colour of justice, yet it tasted not so much of justice as of malice, no not of indifferency, which would be injustice, having eye to the due circumstances, so much as of partiality joined with contempt of the King and his equal request; and so it was constructed, and gave more just occasions to his enemies surmising, and the increasing of the King's indignation, which by yielding, and remitting a little of his privileges, and showing respect to the King's entreaty, he might have mitigated in some measure; and that without any danger he could have incurred by the said Lord Harris's enmity, although he

should have been his enemy, and perhaps he might have regained him to his friendship by remitting the offence. The other fact which ensued upon this, not so unjust, but made as odious, as carrying the odiousness of the other with it, was Maclellan tutor of Bombie, the chief of that name, and one of the principal houses in Galloway, falling at odds with a servant of the Earl Douglas, had slain him, and was therefore, with his brother, who was partaker of the slaughter, apprehended and put in prison in the Trevie, a strong house belonging to the Earl. His friends made means to the courtiers, and by them to the King; informing him that Douglas carried a spleen against a man, more for being a friend, a favourer and follower of the best side (so they called their own) than for killing of the man; wherefore they besought him, that he would not suffer a gentleman of his rank, who was also a good man otherwise, however that had fallen out in his hands, to be drawn, not to judgement, but to certain and destinate death, before one who was both judge and party. By this and such like information, whereby the ears of princes are deceived, while men go about to withdraw their friends from due punishment, they persuade the King to send for Bombie, and take the trial and judgement of him in his own hands, desiring the Earl Douglas, that if he had any thing against him, he should come and pursue him before the King. Amongst the furtherers of this suit Patrick Gray of Foulis, uncle to the tutor, was chief: he was directed with the commission, as one that both would be earnest therein, being so near to the party, and would also be respected, being some way in kin to the Earl; Douglas having notice of his commission, and perceiving thereby they meant no other thing, but to defraud him of justice for killing of his servant, which he thought he, could not suffer with his honour, that he might do what he had determined the more calmly, and with less offence, as he thought, he courteously received the said Patrick Gray, and entertained him with divers purposes, and caused the tutor in the mean time to be tried by an assize; and being condemned, to be quickly conveyed a mile from thence, to a place called

Carling-work, and there executed. Afterwards when Patrick Gray (ignorant of what was done) had delivered his commission from the King; he answered, he was sorry he was come too late, and then told him what was done, and desired him to excuse him to the King. When he heard that, and saw himself so deluded, he presently, in a great chaff and rage, renounced all kindred and friendship, and whatsoever bond besides might seem to tie him to the Earl, vowing from that time forth he should be his deadly enemy in all sort, and by all means he could; which the other little regarding, dismissed him: but however little he regarded it, the French proverb proveth true, and is worthy to be regarded of all men, *That there is no little enemy*, for he had the power to be his death afterwards with his own hands, and plotted it by his counsel, or set it forward, being plotted and devised by others: for being come to the King, and relating the issue and effect of his message, all was by him and the other courtiers of the faction aggravated in the most heinous sort, that the King's commandments were contemned, eluded and mocked; that it was likely that the Earl Douglas was King; that doubtless he aimed to be so; yea, he behaved himself already as such; that that was the meaning of his private conference with the King of England, on that ground he gave licence to slay so many honest men, to spoil and rob; that innocency now was contemned for sluggishness, faithfulness to the King punished for unfaithfulness; that by the King's indulgence the common enemy was become insolent, that it became him once to take upon him his place as King, and do things by authority, and by his power, that then it would appear who were friends, who were foes. These, and such as these, were the speeches of the courtiers, and interpretations of his actions; such as it pleased them to make, following their humour of faction or judgement.

But they neither considered the equity that was done in punishing blood by blood, nor the authority by which it was done, for he had authority and sufficient jurisdiction of old granted to him, and given by former Kings to his predecess-

ors and their heirs, for his service. Neither did they observe what order and formality he kept in his proceedings, nor his honour interested in the revenging his servant's death; neither what scorn to him it was on the other part, if he had sent the party, having thereby his privileges infringed, his servant slain, and no satisfaction for it, but to be eluded by a commission purchased by his enemies, justice defrauded, and the guilty pulled out of his hands; and, by their credit with the King, procuring him to hinder justice, who should have been the furtherer of it, only upon their private account, and by their factions inclining his Majesty that way. Upon these considerations, what had been more extraordinary, would have been excused by the same men, in another than Douglas. Now in him, though done orderly, it is thus traduced, exaggerated, and named contempt of the King, and affecting of the crown.

Such is the misfortune, when princes are moved by parties to command or request things that are unjust, there being peril, either in obeying or refusing their requests, of receiving hurt and prejudice in their rights, and scorn of their adverse party: and happy is that man that can steer aright betwixt these rocks! happy he who falleth into the hands of such a prince, as measureth and moderateth his commands according to equity; or if they be iniquitous, when it falleth out so, (for what prince may not fall into such weakness,) who tempereth his passion, and moderateth his mind, in the just refusal thereof, taking it in good part, and accounteth not his authority contemned, when an unjust command is refused by his subjects.

Whether it were on the displeasure of this fact, or jealousy conceived of this and other actions of the Douglas's, it is hard to discern; but so it was, that his enemies making use, for their own ends, of the King's credulity, prevailed so far, that they persuaded the King to resolve to make away with him; and seeing it could not be done by open force, in any sort it could be done: whereof when they had advised of all the means they could, this they found to be the most expedient way, that he should be drawn to court, by fair promises, and being

come, the King should enter into terms of quarrelling; and thereupon they that were appointed for the purpose should dispatch him. So they caused a certain courtier of their faction, but such an one as was free from all suspicion of bearing enmity to the Earl, to address himself to a gentleman who was Douglas's friend, and to shew him how Crichton was retired to his own house, and that in his absence it were fit the Earl should take that good occasion to come and see the King, with whom he might be assured to find favour, if he would crave it humbly: and this he told as a great secret, not to be revealed but to his Lord, and dealt earnestly with him to follow his advice.

The gentleman believing, went and dealt very earnestly with his Lord, but he suspecting Crichton's craft, and having the murder of his cousins before his eyes, flatly refused to go thither, where he had so many enemies, so potent and of so great credit, and some of which had, not long ago, lain in wait for his life, unless he saw assurance of his life and liberty. Hereupon he was directly sent for to come to court, with promise of all freedom, and with assurance under the broad seal: and to remove all fear and doubt that he could conceive, the noblemen that were present at court were moved to send a warrant to him, subscribed with all their hands, and sealed with all their seals, with the greatest oaths and protestations interposed therein that could be; and not only so, but every man wrote his own particular letter apart, assuring him of the King's good-will; and further promising him, that if it should so fall out, that the King should be so disposed as to break his faith and promise, and to enterprize any thing against his person, life, lands or liberty, they should send him home safe nevertheless. What could he seek more at their hands? Or what could he devise more? And who would have doubted after such assurances? Yet that he might not repose all his safety upon his enemies credit alone, he accompanieth himself, for his honour and surety, with as many as might secure him, and keep him from being in danger of any private man's forces. So relying, for the King's part, upon his safe-conduct

and the nobility's credit interposed therewith, he cometh to Stirling, where the King was well attended and followed by his friends and servants, but in a peaceable manner. Being come into the King's presence after some sort of admonition to lead a more peaceable and orderly life, he seemed to pardon him whatever was past, and kindly invited him to supper in the castle. After they had supped chearfully and merrily together, the King taketh him aside and leadeth him into an inner-room, where there was none present besides them two and Patrick Gray, of whom we spoke before, how of his friend and cousin he was become his enemy, for the execution of the tutor of Bombie: there the King beginning his speech from the valour and loyalty of his predecessors, came shortly to his own indulgence towards the whole family, and towards himself in particular; then sharply upbraiding him how oft he had pardoned him, and what insolences he had committed: Douglas answered submissively, and craved pardon for what he had offended against himself in any sort; saying, his intention was not against him, but against his enemies: that as for others that would complain, he was ready to satisfy them according to justice, and at the King's own pleasure. There rests yet one thing, saith the King, the league betwixt you and the Earls of Crawford and Ross, I will have you presently to quit it. At that word the Earl was somewhat astonished at the first, yet gathering his spirits again, he answered, that for him, he knew nothing wherein that league could be offensive to his Majesty, seeing that all duty to him was specially reserved. The King replied, I will have you presently to break the same. Douglas answered, that if he would have him to do so, he would be pleased to give him leave to advertise the said noblemen, and then he would do it, otherwise he would be accounted a faith-breaker, if having entered into friendship with them, he should forsake them, not giving a reason why: and therefore besought him to have patience. The King replied in an angry manner, speaking aloud, if you will not break it, I will: and with those words, he stabbed him in the breast with a dagger. At the same instant Patrick

Gray struck him on the head with a pole-ax. The rest that were attending at the door, hearing the noise, entered, and fell also upon him; and, to shew their affection to the King, gave him every man his blow after he was dead.

Thus died he by the hand of the King, but by the practices of his enemies, they being the movers, and the King yielding to their motions as if it had been his quarrel, for so they made it seem to him, whereas indeed it was but their own: or if his it was but thus far his, that he took it on him as his, espoused theirs as his own, and embarked himself therein. A common practise of courtiers who have princes ears whatever is contrary to their will is all against the King, is all presumption, is all high treason; whereas indeed they are oft-times themselves his greatest enemies, whatever shew of service and affection they make; and they whom they call his enemies far more heartily affected to him. They make the King always wed their quarrels, bear their errors, and the whole hatred and envy of their enemies; and oft-times draw him into great absurdities, beside and contrary to his own natural disposition, to his great disgrace, or diminishing his credit, in the eyes of his subjects, not without great peril of his life and estate. Happy the prince that can rightly take up, and rightly discern the quarrels which are indeed his own, from those which others would have him think to be his own, and so understandeth the disposition of his subjects, that he account not all that is against his courtiers is against him, or all that is done by his courtiers is done for him.

These courtiers had gained this point of the King, and by that means had brought him to do that hard fact against this man as his own enemy, as one aspiring to his crown; where indeed never any such thing appeared to have been intended by him, or aimed at, but only revenge against his private enemies. And for the other crimes that his enemies alleged against him, they were only supported by small presumptions and cold conjectures. But above all this, the greatest pity is, that they had power to bring such a King to commit such a fact, contrary to his faith and promise, solemn,

ly sworn and sealed by himself, and by his nobility, to break the bonds of all human society. It is worthy the considering to see their pretences and arguments set down by writers, which they used to move and induce him to consent and yield to this strange and unnatural fact. A paradox in truth, though a maxim in Machiavelianism: one of them is necessity; for they make him believe, first, that the Earl Douglas did aspire; then that he was so powerful, that there was no other remedy for his aspiring. All they bring is but weak presumptions. And for his strength and power, he was strong enough indeed to defend himself against his enemies, or an unjust force and violence: but it had been another matter unjustly to have invaded the kingdom, for which he was not so strong, as justice and a just title to a crown, which are of great force; and against which, that force, which otherwise and in another case may be great, will prove nothing: for God hath given his image of authority with it, which so affects the hearts of men, that they cannot but regard it; and this image being imprinted in their hearts, is not easily abolished but by very enormous faults, and even scarce by any faults, though never so extraordinary. So that it was error in them to think, or craftiness to persuade, that there was no remedy in a just authority to defend itself by itself, and without foregoing itself and becoming injustice, and that in such a hateful manner: whereas by the contrary, this, their way, was not so safe and so certain a mean to defend himself, but had almost been the mean to deprive him of what he would have had men think he preserved by it, that is, his crown; for the fact being so vile and base, it not only moved the friends and followers of the Earl Douglas's house to rebellion, but also incensed the whole common people: so that if his brother who succeeded had been as politic as he was powerful, the King might have been set beside his throne. And as it was, he was once in a great brangling, and had resolved to quit the country, had it not been for James Kennedy's counsel, who was Bishop of St. Andrews. So far was this fact from establishing his throne, as they made him believe it would do.

Then for the honesty and lawfulness of it, it is to be diligently weighed: *It is lawful*, say they, *to catch fraud in its own craftiness*. And indeed that saying is most true, good, and conform to all wisdom, being rightly understood, thus: let fraud work on fraudfully, until he be intangled and intrapped in his own fraud, and so become guilty and obnoxious to a lawful and orderly avengement by justice; but that men to meet fraud, may justly use fraud, and that against all promises, seals, subscriptions, or oaths, to the extremity of murdering, changing justice into injustice, in the very seat of justice, is not, nor ever was, nor ever can be justified under any pretext whatsoever; as being that which breaketh the bands of human society. It is an unworthy kingdom which cannot otherwise defend itself; and it is unworthy of a King to stoop to such unworthy and base ways. It hath also been by some pretended elsewhere, to cover the foulness hereof, that hereby much bloodshed is eschewed, which would have been, before such a man could have been cut off, which I marvel is not alleged here also.

But that is frivolous amongst the rest; for it is the cause of much more blood-shedding, because it takes away all trust, and so peace, until the wars end by the destruction of one party, which without trust cannot end by reconciliation. Besides this, they insinuated it unto the King, as a point of want of courage in him, and cowardice, if he durst not so much as deceive his enemy; whereby they would mean, that it was courage to deceive him. An unhappy daring, to dare to do wrong, and very far mistaken, and misnamed.

And last of all, they half menace to abandon him, and provide for themselves and their own safety, by taking part with Douglas as the stronger party; whom if the King did not make away, they would follow him, and that there was no other remedy left to them. Such boldness were they come to, thus to threaten their master and sovereign! And such is the weakness of that place, where it submitteth itself to servants! By these means was this good King (far contrary to his own nature) drawn on by them who had his ear to this unnatural

fact, as to that which was most lawful and absolutely necessary, yet was neither this pretended necessity, nor alleged lawfulness, sufficient to defend it, even in the judgement of the doers themselves. And therefore the courtiers found out another mean to put some fair face, at least some colourable excuse upon it as they thought, for being ashamed of those allegiances, or distrusting that they would be accepted for just causes of breach of faith, and fearing they should be detested of all men: they gave it out, that the slaughter was not committed of set-purpose, but that it fell out only by chance, and that the King had no intention to kill him, till he himself by his indiscretion procured it, having irritated the King by his presumptuous answers.

But this is a weak excuse, to commit murder contrary to promise, although he had answered so: but there is no appearance, that it was but a sudden passion; neither was it believed in those days, as may be seen by the persuasions given him by the courtiers; which while writers set down, they witness it was a set-draught and fore-plotted. For they say plainly also, that the courtiers would have had it appear that it came by his arrogance in his carriage and answers, but not that it was so indeed. Besides, there is a received tradition that James Hamilton of Cadzow pressing in to follow the Douglas, Livingston being uncle to James, and knowing the Earl was to die, gave him a blow on the face, and thrust him back from the gate: James Hamilton drew his sword, which the other little regarding, held him off with a long halbert, and made the guard shut the gate against him; was exceeding angry at this affront in the time, but after, when he heard the Earl was killed, he knew it was done for his safety. He had given too much matter for his enemies to work on, by his rash journey into England, and private conference with the King and Queen there: but this had been forgiven him, as an oversight only, which the King had apparently tried, and found to be nothing else. He had been vehement in the revenge of the murder of his cousins, and servant John Auchinleck; but that, though vehement, was not unjust, and therefore we

find him never charged with it as injustice. He had against equity executed the Lord Harris, yet he had done it legally, and by form and order of law; whereof the particulars not being perfectly known, the judgement is difficult, yet it is not, for any thing we see, any way to be excused. The execution of the tutor of Bombie was very good justice and irreprovable, though it bred him most hatred and ill-will at court. Other particulars are not mentioned: only they say, that he bore with thieves to have their assistance. An ill and unwise course, and ever pernicious to the users of it, for harming of such as they hate! A far worse and unworthy fact, unfit for a generous mind to companion itself with them whom he should punish, and to participate of the guiltiness he should correct! But how far he went in this point is not certain; at least is not specially set down. And as for the speeches of his enemies, reproaching them unto him in the hatefulest sort, all must not be taken for truth they say.

All agree that he was a man of great power, great policy, great performance and execution, and greater expectation; in whom the name of Douglas rose to the greatest pitch of height, and with whom it began to fall, which was afterwards accomplished in his successor, as shall be said. He was slain the 13th of February 1452, esteemed to have been Fastings-Eve, (or Shrove-Tuesday) after the Roman supputation; or in the year 1451, as Major reckoneth it, according to the account of Scotland. He was Earl the space of nine years, or thereabout, but left no children behind him. Where he was buried, or what was done with his body, there is no mention made in history.

Me letho, ante diem, Crichtonus Rexque dedere:

Ille necis causam præbuit, iste manum.

In English thus,

By Crichton and my King, too soon I die,
He gave the blow, Crichton the plot did lay.

Of JAMES the Ninth and last Earl of DOUGLAS, the Eighteenth Lord, sixth Duke of Touraine and Fourth JAMES, who died in LINDORES.

WILLIAM being thus slain by the instigation of these courtiers, his enemies, to the end that the King, as they would have it thought, might be established in his crown, by the making away of him whom they made the King to think so great an enemy to him: it was so far from producing that effect, that by the contrary there was nothing nearer, than that it should have been the very occasion of spoiling him thereof; for the Earl Douglas's friends, who before took Crichton and his faction only for their enemies, now they take the King for their enemy; they, who before thought not that what they had suffered proceeded from the King, or that it was his doing, now they impute it to him; they who before were only malcontents, and within the bounds of obedience, and had a good opinion of the King, now they become enemies, with an ill opinion of him, as a wicked man: they who before contained themselves in civil terms, now become openly rebellious; and whereas they had good hope, and looked for reconciliation, now cast off all hope thereof; and matters becoming irreconcilable, all love and regard, all reverence, their hearts being laden with the injury, with the dishonesty, with the horror of it, they burst forth into all outrageous words and deeds: things coming to that point, that they could not be ended but by the destruction of one of the parties. Either they behoved to ruin the King, or behoved to be ruined by him. And here the hardest lot at the first was the King's by all appearance; the power of the other party being so great, their minds so inflamed, their anger so incensed against him: neither the party only, but the people in general detested the fact, and the horribleness of it, in such sort, that he was put to all his shifts, and driven to such a point of despair, as to think of leaving the country, and going by sea to France.

For though the Earl himself was dead, yet had he left behind him in the town of Stirling four brethren that were come hither to accompany him. The eldest of these, James, was provided to the estate three years before, by the King's consent, upon the occasion of Earl William's going to Rome in the year of jubilee, to succeed his brother after his decease. He therefore, with the rest of the nobility who favoured them and their cause, having heard the report of Earl William's being stabbed in that manner, being astonished with these sudden and unexpected news, first ran and took arms with great haste and tumult; but having contained themselves, and commanding their companies to be quiet, every man kept within his own lodging for that night: upon the morrow they assembled together in counsel, and, according to the defunct's ordinance, and the King's consent obtained thereto before, they acknowledged James lawful heir and successor, to his brother William. Then he, with many vehement and bitter words, inveighing against the treasonable perjury of the King and courtiers, exhorts them who were present to lay siege to the castle. 'Send,' says he, 'for your friends and followers from all quarters, and let us draw out of their lurking holes those men who are only valiant in perfidiousness, while as yet they waver, being uncertain in their resolutions, and tremble with the guiltiness of so horrible a fact.' They who were present praised his piety towards his dead brother, and also his courage; but because they were come in a peaceable manner, and unprovided of things necessary for so great a work, they abstained from the siege; which if they had (as the Earl gave advice) resolved upon, and fallen too presently, while the odiousness of the fact was yet green and fresh before the eyes of men, the King and his partners being unprovided, and neither able to consult, nor to meet for consultation, the castle being inclosed, which being also, as it is to be supposed, not well victualled for a siege, the King could hardly have escaped their hands. Neither was the matter so difficult for them, to have remained, and sent for the rest of their friends, and any provision which they needed, who might have come

to them within five weeks, as they did themselves return in that time, having given the King so much leisure to advise and prepare for them. Neither could the King (for all that he had that space and time) find any means sufficient to match them. For having, upon this their deliberation, resolved upon the worst part, and departed to their houses, and taken full advice concerning all things, they returned the five and twentieth day of March, where all the way as they came along to Stirling, James Hamilton dragged the King's safe conduct, which had been given to Earl William, having the broad seal hanging thereat, at the tail of an ill-favoured spittle jade or mare, through the streets of all the towns and villages in their way, abstaining from no contumelious words that they could devise against the King, his counsellors and courtiers.

Being come to Stirling, they went to the market-cross, and there sounding with five hundred horns and trumpets, they caused a herald to proclaim the King, and such as had been plotters and authors of Earl William's death, perjured traitors to God and man, and that they were to be abhorred and detested by all men as such. Others write that they went to the castle-gate, and made that proclamation in the King's hearing, whilst he was looking at them, and that it was done the next day after the slaughter. Thereafter they pillaged the town; and being angry even with the innocent and harmless place, they sent back James Hamilton of Cadzow, and burnt it. Where this is to be considered, what could be the cause why these men, who before were upon advisement to have besieged the castle of Stirling, and did not do it then, only because they were unprovided, why these men, I say, now being come again and provided, abstained notwithstanding from besieging of it, having nothing to hinder them; and which if they had taken, they had withal obtained full victory, being masters of the field, the King inclosed and secluded from his favourers and partners, no others, in all likelihood, could have made head against them; for neither would any have undertaken it; neither would the people, as was thought, have fol-

lowed them, at least not so freely; whether it was because they had no hope to force it, being a strong place, neither to furnish it in haste, being well provided of victuals, or if they chose rather to deprive him of his partners abroad in the country, by forcing them to forsake him first, and then it would be easy to take the King, who had nothing but the castle-walls to trust to; or whatever else were the occasion thereof, our histories (very defective in this so special a point) tell not; but so it was, that they leaving the principal point unprosecuted, the King himself, wherein would have consisted the whole sum of a full victory, and to which they should chiefly have directed their courses, contented only to have blazed his reproaches, turned towards his friends, pillaging and spoiling such as remained on his side; and even by this the King was so put to it, that he had determined to leave the country, and to fly into France, had not Archbishop Kennedy advised him to stay, and hope for better fortune, shewing him, that if he could keep his person safe, and have patience to protract and linger out the time a while, his adversaries' faction would dissolve ere long, and fall asunder of itself.

Amongst those who took part with the King, there were divers of the name of Douglas, and that of the principals, as, Angus, brother to Archbishop Kennedy by the mother, who was daughter to Robert III. and sister to James I. by whom therefore they were cousin-germans to the King, who was partly persuaded by his brother to take that course as fittest for him, against the Earl Douglas, partly also accounting it right to follow him as his King, partly for kindred. There was also John, (or rather James) Lord Dalkeith, who had married the King's sister, as Hollinshed writeth in the life of Macbeth, as also the manuscript in this same place, and the contract, which the Earl of Morton yet hath, beareth: also the manuscript in the life of Gross James, (this Earl James's father) saith the Lord Dalkeith, (or Henry his son rather) married the said Gross James's eldest daughter, this James's sister called Margaret: whether therefore having married the King's sister, and so inclinable to that side, or having married Earl

James's sister, and being of the name, the Earl Douglas was so much the more incensed against him, that he should, without regard of this tie, have joined with his enemies; and therefore besieged the castle of Dalkeith, binding himself by an oath not to depart from thence, until he had taken it. But it was valiantly defended by Patrick Cockburn of Clarkington, in such sort, that at last he was constrained by great travel and trouble of his men with watching, and many wounds, to raise the siege and depart. The King had in the mean time convened a company of men to have relieved the besieged; but finding that his power was not sufficient for that purpose, he resolved to attend the coming of Alexander Gordon Earl of Huntly, his brother-in-law (or sister's son) whom he made lieutenant, and who, they said, was coming with a great army collected out of the farthest parts of the north. But as he was marching through Angus, the 28th of May; he was encountered at Brechin by the Earl of Crawford, who lay for him there to stop his passage. There was fought a great battle betwixt them, in such sort, that Huntly's middle ward was almost defeated, and well nigh routed, not being able to sustain the impression of Crawford's army, which was so strong, that they failed but a little to overthrow the King's standard, brought thither and displayed by Huntly had it not been for the cowardly and treacherous flight of John Colesse of Bonniemoun, to whom the left wing was committed by Crawford: he in the hottest of the conflict, offended with Crawford, because he had refused him that same morning the barony of Ferm, or a part thereof, which lay near to his house, fled on purpose out of the battle, and so left the middle ward naked on the one side of the special force, which the said Earl had, which was called the battle of axes or Billmen. By their flight, the rest, who were almost victors, were so terrified, that they turned their backs, and left the victory to Huntly, far beyond his own expectation, and yet not without a great slaughter of his friends, servants and followers, and especially those of his name, amongst whom were two of his brethren. This battle was fought on the ascension-day, in the year 1453; he had before

the battle, that same day, given lands to the principal men of those surnames that were with him, as Forbeses, Leslie's, Irvines, Ogilvies, Grants, and divers others, which made them fight with greater courage. Crawford also lost many of his men, together with his brother John Lindsay: so that the loss on both sides was accounted almost equal.

Huntly had the name of the victory, yet could not march forward to the King, as he intended, and that partly because of his great loss of men, partly for that he was advertised that Archibald Douglas Earl of Murray had invaded his lands, and burnt the Peil of Strabogie: wherefore he returned speedily to his own country, which gave Crawford leisure and occasion to pour out his wrath against them who had so traiterously forsaken him, by burning and wasting their lands, and casting down their houses and castles. Huntly being returned to the north, not only recompensed the damage done to him by the Earl of Murray, but also compelled him out of his whole bounds of Murray; yet it was not done without conflict and mutual harm; for Huntly coming to Elgin in Murray, found it divided: the one half standing for him, the other half, and almost the other side of the street, standing for the Earl of Murray; wherefore he burnt that half which was for Murray; and hereupon arose the proverb, *Half done as Elgin was burnt*. While he is there, Murray assembled his power, which consisting most of footmen, he sat down upon a hill two or three miles off, called the Drum of Pluscarden, which was inaccessible to horsemen. Huntly furrowed his lands to draw him from the hill, or at least to be revenged of him that way, thinking he durst not come into the plain fields, and not thinking it safe to assault him in a place of such disadvantage. But Murray seeing Huntly's men so scattered, came out of his strength, and falling upon four or five hundred horsemen, drave them into a bog called the bog of Dunkinty, in the bounds of Pittendreich, full of quag-mires, so deep, that a spear may be thrust into them and not find the bottom. In this bog many were drowned, the rest slain, few or none escaping of that company. There are yet to be seen swords, steel-caps, and

such other things which are found now and then by the country people that live about it. They made this round rhyme of it afterward:

Where left thou thy men, thou Gordon so gay?

In the bog of Dunkinty mowing the hay.

These victories in the north, together with the repulse, at least the retreat of the Earl Douglas from the castle of Dalkeith, did so encourage the King, that he began to conceive better hopes of his affairs; and, by the counsel of Archbishop Kennedy, he called a parliament at Edinburgh, and summoned the Earl Douglas and his partners to compare thereat. But the Earl was so far from obeying, that he caused placarts to be affixed upon the church doors, and other public places, sealed with his seal, containing in effect, that from thenceforth he would neither obey citation, nor other commandment of the King's, nor in any sort commit his life to him, who having allured his cousins to Edinburgh, and his brother to Stirling, under safe-conduct, had traiterously murdered them without any order of law, and contrary to his oath. Hereupon he and his three brethren, Archibald, Hugh and John, together with Beatrix, relict of Earl William, were declared rebels, and forfeited, and with them Alexander Earl of Crawford, and James Lord Hamilton; and that the number of the nobility might not seem to be diminished by their forfeiture, there were divers new Lords created, and the goods and lands of the forfeited given to them.

Thereafter an army was levied to pursue them, their lands were wasted, their goods driven away, their corn destroyed, and then, winter coming on, because the army could not lie in the fields, they were dismissed, and appointed to meet again in the spring. But the Earl Douglas seemed to make small account of all this; and that the grandeur of his house, which was grown to that great height by that great marriage, might not be impaired, and that estate transferred to strangers, he takes to wife the foresaid Beatrix, and deals with the

Pope for a dispensation and confirmation of the marriage. But that suit was crost by the King's letters. I find it in an ancient book written of the Douglasses, in metre, that she herself alleged, that her first husband Earl William had never carnal copulation with her, and that she gave her oath thereupon; which giveth some colourable excuse to this fact, which otherwise is so enormous, and void of all appearance that he could have been so shameless as to have gone about it without some such reason or pretext, which therefore I would not omit to intimate, and I remember not that I have reap it elsewhere. However it was, he kept her as his wife, and continued the wars that year, and the next two years, pillaging and wasting the King's possessions, and the King doing the like to him, especially in Annandale, Galloway, and the forest. Hereupon ensued a famine, and upon the famine a pestilence; towns and castles were destroyed on both sides; and no kind of hostility pretermitted. The King notwithstanding caused try indirectly where the Earl could be persuaded to yield himself to him, and the wisest of his friends counselled him to do it, alleging that his predecessors had often done so; chiefly seeing he had been a King of a gentle nature, and who would be entreated by friends, not to extinguish so noble a family, and undo so many noblemen as joined with him, or to reduce them to that necessity, that they should be forced to take a course for themselves; that it would be easier for him to get good quarters now, while matters were as yet not past reconciliation, and while his friends were about him, than afterwards when he should be deserted, and left alone; then there would be no hope of pardon. To this he answered, That he would never commit himself to the credit of those whom neither shame nor honesty could bind, who regarded neither the law of God nor man; but having allured his cousins and brother with fair promises, had so traiterously and cruelly slain them, that he would rather suffer all extremity, than come into their power. This speech was approved or disapproved according to every man's disposition, some praising his magnanimity and courage, some disliking his obstinacy, and ex-

horting him not to lose the good occasion of making his peace, which, if his friends, weary of troubles, should abandon him, he would repent afterwards. He persisted in his opinion, and what for detestation of the fact, what for fear to be used after the same manner himself, if he should come into the King's power (as it falls out, and must of necessity, where trust, which is the ground of all peace, is taken away) not suffering any thought of peace to come into his mind, resolved to try the fortune of war.

But the Earl of Crawford, weary of so long troubles, apprehending the iniquity of the cause, and weighing with himself the common changeableness of all human affairs, and knowing that pardon would be easily granted to him who should pre-occupy the King's favour, and uneasy and difficult to those that should continue in arms, being left by a part of his friends, and suspecting the fidelity of the rest, as the King was journeying through Angus, he casts himself in his way with a habit calculated to move pity, bare-footed and bare-headed; he plainly confessed his offences in times past, put himself absolutely in the King's will, commemorating the good offices done by his predecessors: he acknowledged, that whatever had happened to him, had happened by his own default; and that whatever life or fortune he should have thereafter, he would owe it to the King's clemency. These and such like speeches moved the noblemen that were present, especially the gentlemen of Angus, who, although they had always followed the King, yet were loth that so ancient and noble an house should perish, chiefly Archbishop Kennedy, howbeit he had received many injuries of Crawford, or his father; yet considering of what importance it was to the King to have his own forces increased by his accession, and his enemies diminished and weakened by want of so great a man, dealt earnestly with the King to receive him into his wonted place of honour and favour. Neither was the King difficult to be entreated, but graciously pardoned him, and restored him to his former condition both of goods and honour, only admonishing him to do his duty in time to come. It is re-

ported that the King being desirous to perform his promise, which was to raze the house of Finhaven, the chief mannour of the Earl of Crawford, and to make the highest stone the lowest, he went up to the top of the house, and, according to his promise, threw down a little stone which was lying loose above the built work to the ground, which is to this day kept in an iron chain for a monument and memorial of this action. Some also write that the King took from him the lands of Badenoch and Lochaber and gave them to Huntly for the lands which he had distributed at the field of Brechin, as also the second place in parliament, and honour of bearing the scepter, Crawford died within six months of a burning fever at Finhaven, and was buried in the Grayfriars at Dundee, in the sepulchre of his progenitors.

The Earl Douglas informed hereof, and seeing his forces decay daily, and the King's daily growing greater, he thought he would go try what succour or support he could have out of England; and for that effect he sent James Hamilton of Cadzow to King Henry, to desire his help in this estate. King Henry considering and thinking the occasion fit for him to encroach upon Scotland, persuading himself that the Earl Douglas's passion of revenge on the one part, and the necessity of his estate on the other (two powerful persuaders to move men) should drive him to accept his help on whatever terms, was content to aid him upon this condition, that he should become his subject, swear fealty to him, and so to continue for ever; and for better assurance hereof, should put into his hands such strengths and castles in Scotland as he had in his custody. Unto this Douglas replied very generously and honestly, 'That he would never leave such a blot upon his house, and would rather choose to die by whatever hand, than commit such a crime against his country, for a fault done by the Prince, and some particular men only, whereof he hoped to be avenged, without that shame.' This being so honest a part, and testifying so honest a heart, as some of them have not had the like, even of those who pretended to

be Kings themselves, some of whom have not refused to render themselves and their kingdoms to the English servitude, to be avenged of their enemies, and to obtain the crown for themselves, is too lightly passed over by our writers, without due approbation and praise that it well deserveth. Besides, there can hardly be a clearer argument of his not affecting or aiming at the crown, which his brother and predecessors were charged with: for had he been that way set, he would have accepted of the proffer of England, and made use of their help, which questionless these Kings would not have denied him, according to their ordinary practice. And how many are there that would have forborn in such power, and upon such an occasion? For although he seems to have no colour of title to the crown, yet men that aspire to it, do seldom want their pretences, when they have power to seize it. So that the greater is the pity in so moderate prosecution of such a quarrel, that the event should have been so hard on his side, which appears yet better in that which followed.

So left thus to himself, by the instigation of his partners, and namely of James Hamilton of Cadzow, he gathered together his friends and followers, to raise the siege of Abercorn, which the King had beset, and who lay before it in person. And when he was come within five miles, or, as others say, within sight of the besiegers, they looked assuredly that he would, and that he had resolved to fight, because he put his army in order of battle; who being very ready and forward for their part, Cadzow also exhorting him that he would end these wars with a notable victory to his perpetual praise, or with an honourable death, as became his house, that he might vindicate himself from those miseries and contumelies: but he utterly refused to fight, though he were more in number, saying plainly, his heart would not suffer him nor serve him to fight against his sovereign. Whereby it may be conjectured (as saith the manuscript) that his meaning was only to have terrified the King, and brought him to some reasonable conditions of peace. But there wanted intercessors to deal betwixt them, partly because all men were engaged to the one or other side, for that they believed that he still per-

sisted in his former opinion of distrust or indignation, and so nothing was done therein by any. Others interpret it to have been cowardice or faint-heartedness, and lack of courage; for their words import so much, a fault that was incident to few of that stock; and we never find it imputed to any of them against England, or against any other private enemy, nor to this man elsewhere, but at this time: and we heard how after the killing of his brother his courage is commended, together with his piety. The reason of it hath been this then, while his anger was recent and green against the authors thereof, he could have done any thing to have been avenged; now time having taken away the edge of that disposition, when he considered it was his King he had to do with, whose hand the courtiers, his enemies, had only borrowed; his natural affection, and regard of a subject towards his Prince, was returned, and by piece-meal had taken possession of his heart again, as its own proper lodging, where it had been harboured ever before. Certainly this refusal to fight now, and his former rejecting of the King of England's disloyal conditions of help, have proceeded from one and the same disposition of mind; wherefore seeing that ought highly to be praised, I see not how this can be condemned, at least how they can condemn it, that do so highly respect that high place of Kings. The word also will import not altogether flat cowardice, but a natural sluggishness, and want of action, whereof cowardice is sometimes the cause, but not always, though they concur often. But there is another affection that makes men slack in action, which proceeds not either of sluggishness or cowardice, but of irresolution; when a man swimming betwixt two opinions, resolves not fully upon either; and this seems to have been his disposition. A great impediment in his actions, and at least, in this last point of such importance, the cause of his ruin, while neither his heart could suffer him to act against his Prince, whom naturally he affected, neither could he digest or forget the fact done, or (after it) to commit himself to the doer. Which disposition, though it have brought out the like effects, as cowardliness and sluggishness.

are wont to do, to wit, lingering and eschewing of the battle, yet this did not proceed in him from either of these two, but had the original from a very honest mind to do his duty. His love to his Prince strove and fought with another duty, which was his love to his dead brother, or to his own honour. Out of which, whilst he either cannot, or occasion is not offered to extricate himself, and wind out a full resolution, he suffered himself to be carried unto that which he most inclined to, his love to his Prince, and thereby he slipt and led slide through his fingers, as it were, this fair occasion which was then offered unto him, of no less (in the judgement of his friends) than the casting the dice for the crown: and so James Hamilton told him, That the occasion was such, that if he did not lay hold of it, he should never find the like again: he told him withal, that his want of resolution would be his overthrow, as it was indeed.

For James Hamilton himself left him that same night, and went to the King, of whom he was so honourably and well received, that others thereby were encouraged to come in also: yet others write that he was committed to ward in Roslin for a certain season, and afterwards relieved at the entreaty of George Douglas Earl of Angus. However, by his information to the King of the state of the Earl Douglas's army, how forward they had been to have fought, and how discontented and discouraged they were with his lingering; how the greatest motive that kept them with him, was their doubting of pardon for their former offences, the King caused make a proclamation, That whosoever would come in to him, and forsake the Earl of Douglas, should have free remission for all that was past, providing they came within forty-eight hours.

This being published, the most part of the Earl's army left him; so that there remained not, ere the next morning, with him above 2000 men, whereby he was constrained to leave the field, and his friends and servants that were in Abercorn to be cruelly slain and executed; for the castle was taken by force, and demolished, to his no small reproach, in that he

was so irresolute, and had not by some means or other procured at least some honest composition for himself and them, or else to have adventured all; where, if he would not have taken the kingdom, in case of victory, yet might he honourably have set down conditions of peace; or if he had lost the field, he could not have lost more than he did; for by these means, abandoned of all, he was constrained to flee to England.

In the year 1455, having got together a small company of men, he returned into Annandale, thinking to have found some friends in those quarters, which were his own lands before; but there he was encountered by the King's followers, especially by his own kinsman (but the King's cousin) George Earl of Angus, as some write, who defeated him. His brother the Earl of Murray was slain in the field, and his other brother the Earl of Ormond was hurt and taken prisoner; after his wounds were cured, being brought to the King, he was executed, with greater regard to this last action, than respect to his victory obtained not far from the same place, at Sark, against the English and *Magnus with the red mane*, their insolent champion, which was so greatly praised by the King before, and so acceptable to all, court and country. Such is the course and vicissitude of all human affairs. We hear only of one son of Ormond's, named Hugh Dean of Brechin, of whom we shall speak somewhat hereafter in the life of Archibald Earl of Angus, who was chancellor of Scotland. His takers were the Lord Carlisle and Johnston of Johnston, to whom the King gave in recompence the forty pound land in Pittmane upon Clyde, to each of them a twenty pound land thereof. The third brother, John Lord of Balveny, escaped in a wood, and the Earl himself, by flight got to Dunstaffage, where finding Donald Earl of Ross, and Lord of the Isles, he incited him to make war against the King in his favours, and after he had engaged him therein, he withdrew himself again into England. This is noted to have been in the year 1455, after which there was a parliament called about the 5th of June or August, as the Acts bear, wherein he, and his brother

John, and his wife Beatrix were again forfeited, and their lands of Galloway annexed to the crown. This Beatrix, who had been his brother's wife, and whom he had used and kept for his own wife for certain years, came to the King, and excused herself, as being a woman, and compelled to do what she had done. The King received her into favour, and married her to John Stewart his half brother, by the mother, and gave her the lands of Balveny. This John was afterward made Earl of Athol in King James III's time: he had by Beatrix two daughters only, the eldest of which was married to the Earl of Errol. This is cast in by some in the next year following.

The Earl Douglas, abandoned on all hands, travelled with Donald of the Isles, Earl of Ross, conform to their old band made with Earl William to assist him, and renew his claim to the Isles. Hereupon Donald wasted Argyle, Arran, Lochaber and Murray, took the castle of Inverness, burnt the town, and proclaimed himself King of the Isles; but his wife who was daughter to James Livingston, and had been given to him in marriage at the King's desire of purpose to retain him the better in duty, when she saw she could neither prevail with him in that point, and that besides she was but contemned by him, and the barbarous people that were with him, she left him, and came to the King, who received her very gladly. About this same time Patrick Thornton, a secret favourer of the Earl Douglas's faction, though he had followed the court a long time; slew John Sandilands of Calder the King's cousin, and Allan Stewart also at Dumbarton. These two were of the King's side, wherefore the said Thornton was taken by the King's officers and executed. These things being not yet fully settled, did greatly perplex the King, betwixt domestic and foreign enemies. In the year 1457 the Earl Douglas came in with Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland to the Merse, which, as they were wasting and pillaging, they were encountered by George Earl of Angus, and put back to their camp. Being irritated with this indignity, they put themselves in order of battle, without staying for their

full companies, many of which were gone abroad into the country and villages for spoil and booty, and so entered into conflict. When the noise hereof was carried to the ears of the foragers, they, for fear of losing what they had got, which was a very rich and great prey, past directly into England, without regarding what became of the two Earls. Hereby the battle was lost by the English, but the loss of men, was almost equal on both sides. This victory did not a little recreate the King, and so affrighted Donald and his islanders, that he sent and submitted himself to the King, and was received by him: neither was there any further insurrection within the country: neither did the Earl Douglas without the country enterprise any thing by the aid of England, they being distracted at home by the dissension of Lancaster and York, during the days of this King, which were not many: for about two or three years after this, the King alone was slain by the wedge of a piece of ordnance of his own, and with him George Earl of Angus hurt amongst 30,000 of his army, of whom none else was either slain nor hurt, at the siege of the castle of Roxburgh, in the 29th year of his age, in September 1460, some eight years after the killing of Earl William in Stirling-castle, at which time he was about the age of twenty-one or twenty-two years.

Neither hear we any mention of the Earl Douglas's stirring in the next King's (James III.) time, either in his minority, being but a child of seven or eight years of age at his coronation, or in his majority; either in the dissensions betwixt the Kennedies and the Boyds, or the dissention betwixt the King and the nobility. Whether it be the negligence and sloth of writers that have not recorded things, or whether he did nothing indeed, through want of power, his friends, dependers and vassals being left by him, and despairing of him, having taken another course, and his lands being disposed of to others; so it is, that for the space of twenty or twenty-three years, until the year 1483, there is nothing but deep silence of him in all histories: only we find that he was made Knight of the most noble order of the Garter by King

Edward IV. and is placed first in order of all the Earls, and next to him the Earl of Arundale, who is the first Earl of England, in the book, entitled *Nobilitas Politica*; and the English heralds say of him, that he was a very valiant noble gentlemen, well beloved of the King and nobility, and very steadible to King Edward in all his troubles. These troubles perhaps have been the cause that they could enterprize nothing in Scotland, until the foresaid year 1483. However it be, he hath the honour to be the first of his nation admitted into that order.

At last then, in the year 1483, Alexander Duke of Albany, and brother to King James III. who was also banished to England, and the Earl Douglas, desirous to know what was the affection of their countrymen towards them, vowed that they would offer their offering on the high altar of Lochmaben upon the Magdalene-day; and to that effect got together some 500 horse; what Scottish, what English, and a certain number of English footmen that remained with Musgrave at Burnswarkhill, to assist them in case they needed. So they rode toward Lochmaben, and at their coming the fray was raised through Nithsdale, Annandale and Galloway, who assembling to the laird of Moushill, then Warden, encountered them with great courage. The English who were on the hill Burnswark, fled at the first sight of the enemy, so that the rest behoved either to do or die; and therefore they fought it out manfully, from noon till twilight, with skirmishes, after the border fashion, sometimes the one, sometimes the other, having the advantage. At last the victory fell to the Scots, though it cost them much blood. The Duke of Albany escaped by flight; but the Earl of Douglas, being now an aged man, was stricken from his horse, and taken prisoner, with his own consent, by a brother of the laird of Closeburn's, in this manner: the King (James III.) had made a proclamation, That whosoever should take the Earl Douglas should have a hundred pound land; the Earl being then thus on foot in the field, wearied of so long exile, and thinking that he might perhaps be known by some other, seeing in the field Alexan-

der Kilpatrick, a son of Closeburn's, and one that had been his own servant before, he calls on him by his name, and when he came to him he said, 'I have foughten long enough against my fortune, and since I must die, I will rather that ye (who have been my own servant, and whom I knew to be faithful to me as long as I did any thing that was likely for myself) have the benefit thereby than any other. Wherefore take me and deliver me to the King, according to his proclamation; but see thou beest sure he keep his word before thou deliver me.' The young man, who loved the Earl entirely in his heart, wept (as is reported) for sorrow to see him thus aged and altered in disguised apparel, and offered to go with him into England: but he would not, being wearied of such endless troubles; only he desired the young man to get his life safe, if he could obtain so much at the King's hands; if not, to be sure of his own reward at least. Hereupon Kilpatrick, conveyed him secretly out of the field, and kept him in a poor cottage some few days, until he had spoken with the King, who granted him the Earl's life; and gave unto himself the fifty pound land of Kirmichael, which is possess by his heirs unto this day. Some give the honour of this victory to Cockpool and Johnston, and make the number of those that came with Douglas and Albany greater; and say, that King Richard of England blamed the Duke of Albany for the loss thereof, and that he, discontented, and taking it ill to be so blamed, withdrew himself secretly into France.

The Earl Douglas being brought to the King, he ordained him to be put into the Abbacy of Lindores: which sentence when he heard, he said no more but this, *He that may no better be, must be a monk*; which is past in a proverb to this day. He remained there till the day of his death, which was after the death of King James III. which fell out 1488, he being of a good age, and having been a man in action from the beginning of his brother William, now four and forty years.

Some write, that while he was in Lindores, the faction of the nobility that had put Cochran to death, and punished

some others of the courtiers supported by the King's favour, especially Archibald Earl of Angus, (called Bell-the-car) desired him to come out of his cloister, and be head of their faction; promising he should be restored to all his lands: which seemeth not very probable. But that which others write hath more appearance, that the King desired him to be his lieutenant against the rebels; but he laden with years and old age, and weary of troubles, refused, saying, 'Sir, you have kept me, and your black coffer in Stirling, too long; neither of us can do you any good: I, because my friends have forsaken me, and my followers and dependers are fallen from me, betaking themselves to other masters, and your black trunk is too far from you, and your enemies are between you and it.' Or, as others say, because there was in it a sort of black coin that the King had caused to be coined, by the advice of his courtiers: which monies, saith he, 'Sir, if you had put out at the first, the people would have taken it; and if you had employed me in due time, I might have done you service: but now there is none that will take notice of me, nor meddle with your money.' So he remained still in the Abbacy of Lindores, where he died, Anno 1488, and was buried there.

Thus began and grew, thus stood and flourished, thus decayed and ended, the noble house of Douglas, whose love to their country, fidelity to their King, and disdain of English slavery, was so natural, and of such force and vigour, that it had power to propagate itself from age to age, and from branch to branch, being not only in the stock, but in the collateral, and by branches also, so many as have been spoken of here. They have continually retained that natural sap and juice, which was first in Sholto, then in William the Hardie, who died in Berwick, (who was in a manner a second founder) in such a measure, that amongst them all it is uncertain which of them have been most that way affected. This virtue joined with valour, which was no less natural and hereditary from man to man; caused their increase and greatness: their Princes favouring them for these virtues, and they by these serving

their Princes in defence of their country: their affection pressing them thereto, their worth and valour enabling them, the hearts of the people affecting and following them: their enemies regarding and respecting them; all men admiring them: so that in effect the weight of warlike affairs was wholly laid on them. The King's needed only to give themselves to administer justice, consult and direct, living at peace and ease, and in great quietness to use their honest recreations, from the latter days of King Robert Bruce, wherein there was a pleasant harmony and happy concurrence: the Kings, as the great wheel and first mover, carrying the first place in honour and motion, and commanding; and they in the next room, serving and obeying, and executing their commandments, as under-wheels turned about by them, courageously, honourably, faithfully and happily, to the great honour and good of their Prince and country.

This behoved to be accompanied with greatness; for neither could service to any purpose be done without respected greatness, neither had greatness been worthily placed without service. Their power is said by some to have been such, that, if they had not divided among themselves; no subject in this island could have compared with them in puissance. But that which diminished their power, and ruined the Earl Douglas, was the falling of the Houses of Angus and Morton from them to the King: for the last battle the Earl Douglas was at, the Earl of Angus discomfited him; so that it became a proverb, *The Red Douglas put down the Black*, those of the house of Angus being of the fairer complexion. They might have raised 30 or 40,000 men, under their own command, and of their own dependers only, and these most valiant; for their command was over the most expert and most exercised in war, by reason of their vicinity and nearness to England, which was their only matter and whetstone of valour. They who give them least, give them 15,000 men, who upon all occasions were ready with them to have ridden into England at their pleasure, and back them even in their private quarrels, and have staid there twenty days, and wasted all from

Durham northward, which no other private subject could ever do upon their own strength, without the King's army. This power, as hath been said, they used ever well, without giving of offence to their Prince in any sort, that we can read of, clearly and expressly set down.

Yet our writers say, it was too great for Scotland. But how could it be too great, that was thus for the good of it? for the King's service? for their ease? making no rebellion, no resistance, no contradiction, which we see they came never to, until the killing of the Earl William at Stirling. Truly if we shall speak without partiality, their greatness was so useful to their King and country, that Hector Boetius sticks not to say, the Douglasses were ever the sure buckler and wall of Scotland, and won many lands by their singular manhood and valorous deeds; for they decored this realm with many noble acts, and by the glory of their martial performances. And though their puissance was suspected to some of their Kings, and was now the cause of their declining, yet since that house was put down, Scotland hath done but few memorable deeds of arms, and we cannot say justly, that they gave any cause of jealousy. Princes were moved to conceive it, without just occasion given by them, unless it were a fault to be great. Whether they were jealous of their own natural inclination, (as jealousy ordinarily attends the highest places) or by the suggestion of others that were mean men, and so envious of great men; the one inclining to jealousy, the other working on that inclination; however, notwithstanding all this, they still behaved themselves towards their Princes moderately obeying them to warding, and after relieving to warding again, at their King's pleasure, without any resistance whatsoever, as may be seen in the Earl of Wigton; which being well considered, the cause of their stirring or commotion against their Prince, which was never till this last man, will appear not to have proceeded from their greatness, enterprizing against their Prince or aspiring to his throne, although the mean men and new start-up-courtiers persuaded the King so, for their own advantage

and ends; but the cause was indeed the aspiring and ambition of these mean men, who laboured to climb up into their rooms by their decay; neither was this their aspiring by virtue; but by calumnies and flattering, fostering the foresaid jealousy.

I know it is a maxim in policy, and that pausable to many; thus princes should not suffer too great subject in their dominions; yet it is certain, that without great subjects there can be no great service. Things may be shuffled at home, but abroad there can never any thing be done to the purpose, or of note. But now the question is, where great men are already, whether it be best thus to undo them, and make up new men by their ruin, or not; a thing worthy to be considered: and also, whether or not there be a possibility to use great men to good uses; and, if possible, whether it were not better to do so, than to go about to undo them: whether also there be not in undoing of them such great hazard as we see, that though it may succeed at last, as it did here, yet it is not so good wisdom to adventure upon it with such trouble and uncertainty.

Truly that which made it to succeed, was the very honest heart of this last Earl James; who, if either he would have turned English, and cast off all respect to his native Prince, entered into battle against him at Abercorn, it had proved an unwise course to have so affected the advancement of these mean men; and not rather to have used them well that were become already great: and therefore the writers find no other cause of this success on the King's side, but only the providence of God, who had not determined to give the crown to the Douglas, but to continue it in the right line; which though the Douglas did not aim at, yet being driven to this necessity, either to lose his own estate, or to take the crown in case of victory, he could hardly have refused it, if it should have come to that, but he chose rather to lose his own; and lost it indeed by a rare modesty, which is even disallowed by writers, who interpret it to have been fearfulness or laziness; so hard is it to know the right, and not to incur some censure in our actions: however it be, this appears most

certain, that their meaning to their Prince and country hath ever been good, and that even in this man. Whatsoever errors and faults they fell into, they were drawn to them by the malice of their particular enemies, whom the Princes assisted, fostered and maintained in their ways, thereby to undo that earldom, jealous of their crown, and that they might reign perhaps with greater liberty and fuller absoluteness, which their courtiers persuaded them they could not no, so long as they stood. But it comes not always so to pass; and though it came here so to pass in this King's days, (which were not many) yet in his son's days we shall see it fell out otherwise; for out of these mean men, (at least in respect of the House of Douglas) there arose some who proved as great and greater restrainers of that liberty than ever the Earls of Douglas were. So that if that be the end of cutting off great men, to obtain greater liberty, we see it is not always attained, and doth not ever follow upon it; yea, we shall see, that almost it never, or but for a very short while, produceth that effect. It is therefore worthy to be examined, whether it be to be sought, or to be bought at so dear a rate, such hazard and trouble. But this is the vicissitude of this rolling world; let men consider it, and reverence the Ruler.

Jacobus Comes Lindorensi cœnobio inclusus.

Quid rides rasumque caput, cellæque recessum?

Quodque cucullatis fratribus annuncror?

Fortuna volvente vices, fiet modo Princeps,

Plebeius: Monachus sæpe Monarcha fuit.

Why do you laugh to see my shaven crown?

My cell, my cloister, and my hooded gown?

This is the power of that sovereign queen,

By whom monks, monarchs; monarchs monks have been.

Another.

Both fortunes long I tried, and found at last

No state so happy as an humble rest.

Georgius Angusiæ Comes,

*Anvici Gallos obsessos undique letho,
 Scotorum eripuit, te duce, parva manus:
 Te duce Duglasius, victus quoque Percius heros,
 Militiæ statuunt clarea trophea tuæ:
 Sed consanguinei, sed quid meruere propinqui?
 O furor, O rabies, perdere velle suos!
 Matrem ingrata necat crudeli, vipera, morsu:
 Stirpem, qua genita est, noxia vermis edit.
 His non absimilis fueras: perdtomus illa
 Eversa est, ortum ducis et unde genus.
 Non me, ventoca ambitio, non dira cupido
 Egit opum: me non impulit invidia.
 Fere parem poteram, poteram vel ferre priorum;
 Contentusque mea sorte beatus eram:
 Ast Regi parere, et jussa facessere fixum;
 Fas quoque semper erat, fas mihi semper erit.*

George Earl of Angus.

Thou ledst a handful, who from death did free,
 The French beseig'd at Alnwick: Victory,
 Though bloody, from the noble Percy gain'd,
 Increas'd thy honour. But against thy friend
 And kinsman, what strange fury turn'd thy force?
 What madness to destroy thy own? 'Twas worse
 Than viper's cruelty, compell'd to eat
 Their way, or die: thine was a needless hate.
 No vain ambition oversway'd my heart,
 No love of wealth, no envy had a part
 In what I did, I could an equal bear:
 Nay, did not grudge though Douglas greater were.
 Content with what I had, I happy liv'd;
 But 'twas my Prince's will; and 'tis believ'd
 Lawful. And Justice hath pronounc'd it good
 To serve our King without respect of blood.

Another on the same.

Pompey by Cæsar only was o'ercome,
 None but a Roman soldier conquer'd Rome.
 A Douglas could not have been brought so low
 Had not a Douglas wrought his overthrow.

Finis.

John's 'Lionel' (1900)

I have been thinking of you very much lately
 and wondering how you are getting on.
 I hope you are well and happy.
 I have been very busy lately
 but I will try to write to you more often.
 I have been thinking of you very much lately
 and wondering how you are getting on.
 I hope you are well and happy.
 I have been very busy lately
 but I will try to write to you more often.

angl. to left sign)

[illegible]



